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A NEW

ACCOUNT

Of ſome Parts of

GUINEA,

And the Slave-Trade,

CONTAINING

I. The Hiſtory of the late Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Whidaw* by the King of *Dahomè*. The Author's Journey to the Conqueror's Camp; where he ſaw ſeveral Captives ſacrificed, *&c.*

II. The manner how the Negroes become Slaves. The Numbers of them yearly exported from *Guinea* to *America*. The Lawfulneſs of that Trade. The Mutinies among them on board the Ships where the Author has been, *&c.*

III. A Relation of the Author's being taken by Pirates, and the many Dangers he underwent.

By Captain WILLIAM SNELGRAVE.

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MDCCXXXIV.

Jos: Banks

TO THE

MERCHANTS

OF

LONDON,

Trading to the Coaſt of *Guinea.*

GENTLEMEN,

SOME of you having been pleaſed to peruſe the following Sheets in Manuſcript, and been ſo kind, as to expreſs your Approbation of them, it hath incouraged me to make them publick; and I take the Liberty to addreſs them to the Mer-

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chants trading to the Coaſt of *Guinea*, as being the beſt Judges of the Truth of what is here related.

As it has been my good Fortune to be known for many Years to moſt of you, and to have received Favours from ſeveral amongſt You, ſo I beg leave to ſubſcribe my ſelf, with the greateſt Reſpect and Eſteem, Gentlemen,

Your moſt obliged

humble Servant,

W. SNELGRAVE.

PREFACE.

THE beſt part of the following Sheets were writ ſeveral Years ago, more particularly the Account of my being taken by Pirates, in the Year 1719: *And being now induced to publiſh the Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of* Dahomè, *I have added the other, which is as remarkable in its kind.*

I am ſenſible that Objections may be made to the Account I have given of the Dahomes, *by ſuch of my Readers as are not acquainted, either by Travelling or Reading, with the Manners and Cuſtoms of ſeveral barbarous brutiſh Nations, that have been and are ſtill on the Globe.*

As to human Sacrifices, they are no new thing in the World; for it is recorded of the Mexicans *in particular, that they annually ſacrificed to their Gods, a great number of their Enemies taken in War.*

Mens eating of their own Species, ſeems to be the moſt incredible and ſhocking; but this is practiſed by others at preſent (beſides the Dahomes) *on the Coaſt of* Guinea; *eſpecially by a People called* Acquas, *on the River of old* Callabar, *and amongſt the* Camarones *adjoining, where I have formerly been, and of which there are ſome Witneſſes now in* London: *Captain* Arthur Lone *and others, having ſeen the ſame as well as my ſelf.*

As to the Story in general of the King of Dahomè, *there are ſome Gentlemen now in Town, that know a great part of it; namely,* Jeremiah

miah Tinker *Esq*; *Governor* Wilson, *and others, who have formerly resided at* Whidaw, *for the Royal* African Company: *Besides several that have been there in the Service of private Merchants: As also* Charles Dunbar *Esq*; *of* Antegoa, *who bought the* Negroe-Woman *of me there, whose Story is so remarkable, on account of her being thrown as a Sacrifice into the Sea, and her wonderful Preservation afterwards, the Truth of which she has often confirmed.*

As to the Relation of my being taken by Pirates, there are several in and about Town, that suffered by them, at the same time and place with myself. And Mr. James Bleau, *who was then my Surgeon, lives now at* Woodford, *in good Repute and Esteem with the Gentlemen of that Village and Neighbourhood.*

PREFACE.

I ſhall ſay nothing with relation to the ſhort Account I have given of the manner how the Negroes *become Slaves, and of the Management of them when on Shipboard, it being deſigned at firſt only for a Friend's Satisfaction, who had objected againſt the lawfulneſs of that Trade.*

As I love Freedom my ſelf, ſo I readily leave the Reader to judge and believe as he pleaſes, concerning what is here related: My principal motive for publiſhing theſe Sheets, being the Perſuaſion of ſome Friends, who had peruſed them in Manuſcript, and thought they might prove acceptable to the Publick.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

THAT Part of *Africa* commonly called *Guinea*, is of a large Extent, beginning at *Cape Verd*, in 14 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, and extending to the South and Eaſt, as far as the Coaſt of *Angola*; the River *Congo*, in 6 Degrees South Latitude, being the fartheſt place where the *Engliſh* carry on their Trade.

In this Country of *Guinea*, the *Engliſh* have trafficked a great many Years: But eſpecially, ſince the Concluſion of the laſt *French* War, it has been ſo improved, that whereas in the Year 1712, there went only 33 Ships from *England* to that Coaſt, in 1726, it was proved before the *Commiſſioners of Trade*, that there had been there the Year before above 200 Sail, to the great increaſe of Navigation, and the ad-

advantage of our Plantations in *America*.

Such as are unacquainted with this Country, may reaſonably ſuppoſe we ſhould have gained by this time a perfect account of the Inland-Parts; yet perhaps we know the leaſt of it of any Country the *Engliſh* have ſo long traded to, for reaſons I ſhall give hereafter. But as I deſign only to inform the Reader, (for his better underſtanding the following Sheets) in a curſory manner, of thoſe parts of the Coaſt of *Guinea*, that I have been perſonally acquainted with: So, as I go along, I ſhall intermix my Reaſons with the Account.

I have traded along this Coaſt for near 700 Leagues, from a River called *Sherberow*, in the Latitude of 7 Degrees 30 Minutes North, to *Cape Lopez Gonſalvez*, in 1 Degree South, near the Coaſt of *Angola:* Now in ſo large an Extent, we meet with very different People and Trade.

The

INTRODUCTION.

The firſt part I ſhall mention, is about 250 Leagues in length, from the above-mentioned River of *Sherberow*, round *Cape Palmas*, to the River *Ancober* near *Axim*. This is commonly called the *Windward Coaſt*, on which there is no Settlement or Factory of any *European* Nation; but the Trade is carried on in this manner.

As ſoon as the Natives perceive a Ship on their Coaſt, they make a ſmoke on the Sea-Shore, as a Signal for the Ship to come to an Anchor, that they may come and trade with the People on board. As ſoon as we are at an Anchor, they come to us in ſmall Boats, called *Cannoes*, being made of a ſingle Tree, and bring their Commodities with them.

Along the greateſt part of this Coaſt, the *Europeans* have been cautious of venturing on Shore amongſt the Natives, they being very barbarous and uncivilized, as ſeveral have experienced to their coſt.

In

In thoſe few places where I have been on Shore my ſelf, I could never obtain a ſatiſfactory account from the Natives of the Inland Parts. Nor did I ever meet with a white Man that had been, or durſt venture himſelf, up in the Country; and believe, if any had attempted it, the Natives would have deſtroyed them, out of a Jealouſy that they deſigned to make diſcoveries to their prejudice.

However, the Trade on this part of the Coaſt, has been exceedingly improved within theſe 20 years paſt. It conſiſts in Negroes, Elephants Teeth, and other Commodities; which the Natives freely bring on board our Ships, except when any Affront has been offered them; which, to the great Scandal both of *Engliſh* and *French*, has too often been done, namely by their forcibly carrying away the Traders, under ſome ſlight pretence of having received an Injury from them. And this has put a ſtop to the Trade of the particular place where it has happened for a long time; and innocent People, who have

have come there to trade in ſmall Veſſels, have ſuffered for their Countrymens Villany: Several in my time having been ſurprized by the Natives, and the People deſtroyed out of revenge.

From the aforementioned River of *Ancober* to *Acra*, is about 50 Leagues. This part is commonly called the *Gold-Coaſt*, and thereon are many *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Factories, under each of which is a *Negroe Town*, protected by them. The Reader may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that here we might have a perfect account of the Inland parts; but we can have no ſuch thing. For the Policy of the Natives does not ſuffer white Men to go up any great way into the Country. Moreover, the Inland People are very jealous of thoſe Negroes, who are under the Protection of the Factories; ſo that the account I have received from both when at peace (which has brought ſome of the former to the Sea ſide) has ſeemed ſo fabulous and contradictory, that it could not be depended

upon; for the Negroes are very apt to impoſe on us. However, in this part called the *Gold Coaſt*, the Natives near the Sea ſide are much civilized, by their converſing with the *Europeans*, at their Settlements; and by going on board ſo many Ships to trade, as frequent this part of the Coaſt. Here we can venture on Shore amongſt the Natives, without any hazard; for 'tis to be noted, a large part of the Gold Coaſt is not in Subjection to them.

From *Acra* (where ſtands the laſt of the *European* Settlements, on this part of the Coaſt,) to *Jaqueen*, is about 60 Leagues. In this Tract there are no Factories but at two places, namely at *Whidaw*, and *Jaqueen*. And tho' they have been ſo long ſettled by the *Europeans*, yet till the late Conqueſt of them by the King of *Dahomè*, we could learn but little of the Inland parts; no white Men having been permitted to go beyond the Kingdom of *Ardra*, which is about 50 Miles from the Sea ſide. But, as I have related in the follow-

following Sheets what I ſaw and heard when I was there; ſo I omit farther mention of it here.

From *Jaqueen* to the Bay of *Bennin*, and ſo round to the *Callabars*, *Camerones*, and *Cape Lopez*, is above 300 Leagues, in which long Tract there is no Settlement of any *European* Nation; ſo of courſe the Natives are for the moſt part barbarous and uncivilized. I have, in my younger years, traded to many places in this Tract, eſpecially at *Old Callabar*, where, in the year 1704, I ſaw a ſad Inſtance of Barbarity. The King of the place, called *Jabrue*, being fallen ſick, he cauſed, by the advice of his Prieſts, a young Child about ten Months old, to be ſacrificed to his God, for his recovery. I ſaw the Child after it was killed, hung up on the Bough of a Tree, with a live Cock tied near it, as an addition to the Ceremony.

The laſt Voyage I went to this place, was in the year 1713, when I commanded

the Ship *Anne*, belonging to Meſſieurs *Bradley*, *Virginia* Merchants; where I had the good fortune to ſave a Child from being Sacrificed, as the other poor Infant had been. And tho' 'tis a long ſtory, and therefore may not ſo well ſuit an Introduction, yet on account of the ſingular Circumſtances wherewith it was attended, I believe the Reader may be pleaſed with it.

The chief King, or Lord of the Country (for there are ſeveral petty Princes on that River) called *Acqua*, came on board, ſometime after my arrival, to ſee the Ship, and hear our Muſick. Being highly pleaſed with his Entertainment, he kindly invited me on Shore; ſo I promiſed to wait on him in a few days. Accordingly I went; but as I knew his People to be fierce brutiſh Cannibals, I took, by way of precaution, ten of my Sailors as a Guard, with my Gunner to command them. They were all well armed with Muſquets and Piſtols, which thoſe ſavage People I knew were much afraid of.

Upon

INTRODUCTION.

Upon my landing at the Water ſide, I was received by ſome perſons, whom the King had appointed to conduct me about a quarter of a mile up, where I found him ſitting on a Stool, under ſome ſhady Trees; another being placed by his ſide, which I was deſired to ſit on. The King did not ſpeak one word, or moved in the leaſt, till I was ſat down; but then he bid me welcome, enquiring after my health; as I did after his, having firſt paid my reſpects to him, by bowing and taking off my Hat. There were many of his Courtiers preſent, and I obſerved above 50 of his Guard, ſtood at a little diſtance. They were armed with Bows and Arrows, a Sword by their ſide, and a barbed Lance in their Hands. My people ranged themſelves oppoſite to them, at the diſtance of about twenty paces.

After having preſented the King with ſome things, which, tho' trifling to us, he ſeemed highly delighted with; accidentally turning my Head about, I ſaw a little

Negroe-Child tied by the Leg to a Stake driven in the Ground, the flies and other vermin crawling on him, and two Prieſts ſtanding by. Being ſurprized at this ſight, I aſked the King, " What was the reaſon " of the Child's being tied in that man- " ner?" He replied, " It was to be ſacrifi- " ced that night to his God *Egbo*, for his " proſperity." Moved at the hearing of this, I called (too haſtily I muſt own) to one of my People, to take the Child from the Ground, in order to preſerve him. He had no ſooner done it, but one of the King's Guard advanced towards him, in a threatning poſture with his Lance; and fearing he would run him through, I immediately took out of my Pocket a ſmall Piſtol; at the ſight of which, the King roſe from his Stool in a fright. But I bid the Linguiſt tell him, " I would offer no " Injury to him or his, provided he or- " dered his Guard not to attack mine:" Which he readily doing, and all things being quiet, I expoſtulated with him, " for his breaking the Laws of Hoſpita- " lity, in permitting one of his Guard to

" threaten

" threaten my Man with his Lance." To this the King replied, " I had not " done well in ordering him to ſeize the " Child, it being his Property." This I acknowledged, " excuſing it on the ac- " count of my Religion, which, tho' it " does not allow of forcibly taking away " what belongs to another, yet expreſly " forbids ſo horrid a Thing, as the put- " ting a poor innocent Child to death. " And that this would, inſtead of Bleſ- " ſings, certainly bring on him the Wrath " of the moſt high God, whom we white " Men adored." I alſo obſerved to him, " That the grand Law of human Nature " was, To do to others as we deſir'd to be " done unto;" and many other Arguments I uſed, too long to repeat here. At the ſame time I offered to pay him for the Child, which the King readily accepted: And on my aſking, what he deſired for it? to my ſurprize he only aſked a bunch of ſky coloured Beads, worth about half a Crown Sterling. I expected he would have demanded at leaſt ten times that Value; for the Negroes, from the King to

the Trader, are generally very ready, on any extraordinary occaſion, to make their Advantage of us.

After this was over, I ſtaid about an hour with the King, treating him with *European* Liquors and Victuals, which I had carried on Shore for that purpoſe; but I took care not to drink any of his Palm Wine, (which is a Liquor drawn from a Tree, and which they can artfully poiſon) under pretence, it did not agree with me. But my People did not ſpare it, drinking plentifully of it with his Guards; and eating likewiſe heartily of their Victuals.

After this I took my leave, and the King expreſſed himſelf well pleaſed with my Viſit; promiſing to come on board again, before I went out of the River.

As we were returning in our Boat, I told the Gunner, " That when we came " on board, he ſhould pitch on ſome mo- " therly Woman, to take care of this poor

" Child." To which he anſwered, " He " had already one in his Eye."

It happened, the day before I went on Shore to ſee the King, I had purchaſed the Mother of the Child (tho' I knew it not then) from one of his People; and at that time my Surgeon obſerving to me, ſhe had much Milk in her Breaſts, I enquired of the Perſon that brought her on board, whether ſhe had a Child when he bought her from the Inland Trader? To which he anſwered in the negative.

But now on my coming on board, no ſooner was the Child handed into the Ship, but this poor Woman eſpying it, run with great eagerneſs, and ſnatched him out of the white Man's Arms that held him. I think there never was a more moving ſight than on this occaſion, between the Mother and her little Son, (who was a fine Boy about 18 Months old; for 'tis to be noted, the Negroe-Women generally ſuckle their Children till they are above two years old) eſpecially when the Linguiſt

guiſt told her, " I had ſaved her Child " from being ſacrificed." Having at that time above 300 Negroes on board my Ship, no ſooner was the Story known amongſt them, but they expreſſed their Thankfulneſs to me, by clapping their Hands, and ſinging a Song in my praiſe. This affair proved of great ſervice to us, for it gave them a good Notion of white Men; ſo that we had no Mutiny in our Ship, during the whole Voyage.

I went from the River of *Old Callebar*, to the Iſland of *Antegoa*, where our Cargoe was ſold; and upon my telling one Mr. *Studeley* this remarkable ſtory, he bought the Mother and her Son, and was a kind Maſter to them.

I could give a farther account of ſome more extraordinary things, that have happened in the many Voyages I have made to this Coaſt; but am afraid of being tedious to the Reader: So I ſhall conclude with obſerving, that Mynheer *Boſman's*

Account

INTRODUCTION.

Account of the Coaſt of Guinea, is the moſt perfect Hiſtory we have of that Country; and do readily confeſs, that whatever he mentions, as far as my Obſervations have reach'd, I have found to be true. To this Book therefore I refer the Reader, who is curious to know, the *Manners*, *Cuſtoms*, *Trade*, &c. of the *Negroes* along the Sea-Coaſt.

ERRATA.

PAge 67. Line 1. *for* eight *read* eighty. p. 71. l. 6. *Jaqueens* r. *Dahomes*. p. 123. l. 14. and in other places, *Teſteſole* r. *Teſtefole*. p. 190. l. 4. to *r*. from. p. 221. l. 23. at *r*. in. Ibid. l. 24. in *r*. at. 230. l. 15. juſt on *Cocklyn*'s Anchor, *r*. juſt heaving up their Anchor.

A NEW
ACCOUNT
Of ſome Parts of
GUINEA,
And the Slave-Trade.

BOOK I.

Containing an Account of the Deſtruction of the Kingdom of Whidaw, *or* Fida; *the Author's Journey to the King of* Dahomè's *Camp; with ſeveral other remarkable Particulars.*

FOR the better underſtanding of the following Relation, it is neceſſary to prefix ſome Account of the late State of the Country of *Whidaw*, be-

fore the terrible Deſtruction and Deſolation thereof, in the Month of *March* 1726-7.

Deſcription of *Whidaw. Sabee.*

The Reader then is to obſerve, That the Sea-coaſt of this Kingdom lies in 6 Degrees 40 Minutes North Latitude. *Sabee*, the chief Town of the Country, is ſituate about ſeven Miles from the Sea ſide. In this Town the King allowed the *Europeans* convenient Houſes for their Factories; and by him we were protected in our Perſons and Goods, and, when our Buſineſs was finiſh'd, were permitted to go away in Safety. The Road where Ships anchored, was a free Port for all *European* Nations trading to thoſe Parts for *Negroes*. And this Trade was ſo very conſiderable, that it is computed, while it was in a flouriſhing State, there were above twenty thouſand *Negroes* yearly exported from thence, and the neighbouring Places, by the *Engliſh*, *French*, *Dutch*, and *Portugueſe*. As this was the principal Part of all the *Guinea* Coaſt for the Slave Trade, the frequent Intercourſe that Nation had for many Years carried on with

the white People *(a)* had rendered them ſo civilized, that it was a Pleaſure to deal with them.

The greateſt Inconvenience we were expoſed to, was the Thievery of the common People, which it was hardly poſſible to guard intirely againſt; ſo bold and dextrous were they at it: Tho' if taken in the Fact, they became our Slaves.

The Cuſtom of the Country allows Polygamy to an exceſſive degree; it being uſual for a great Man to have ſome hundreds of Wives and Concubines, and meaner Men in proportion; whereby the Land was become ſo ſtock'd with People, that the whole Country appeared full of Towns and Villages: And being a very rich Soil, and well cultivated by the Inhabitants, it looked like an intire Garden. Trade having likewiſe flouriſhed for a long time, had greatly enriched the People; which, with the Fertility of their Country, had unhappily made them ſo proud, effeminate, and luxurious, that Polygamy.

(*a*) So they call the *Europeans*, in Oppoſition to the *Negroes*.

tho' they could have brought at leaſt one hundred thouſand Men into the Field, yet ſo great were their Fears, that they were driven out of their principal City, by two hundred of their Enemies; and at laſt loſt their whole Country, to a Nation they formerly had contemned. And tho' this may appear to the Reader very incredible, yet it will ſufficiently be illuſtrated by the following Account.

Account of the King of *Whidaw*.

The King of *Whidaw* came to the Crown when about fourteen Years old, ſo that the Government was for many Years in the hands of the great Men of the Country; who liked it ſo well, that tho' he was paſt thirty Years of Age when this Calamity happened, yet they had to this time ſought all ways to keep him from a Knowledge of governing. This ſuited indeed with his Temper, for he was indolent and laſcivious, having in his Court ſeveral thouſands of Women, by whom he was ſerved in all capacities; for no Men-ſervants were allowed to be there. Being thus ſoften'd by his Pleaſures, he grew intirely negligent of his Affairs,

fairs, which at laſt produced ſuch a Weakneſs in the Government, that it ended in its Ruin. For the great Men played the petty Tyrants, often falling out, and purſuing their particular Intereſts, without regarding the Good of their King or Country. By this means the common People were divided, and ſuch Parties aroſe among them, as, added to their Fears, rendered them a Prey to their Neighbours; ſo that tho' they were able to have repelled any Force which could have been brought againſt them by the neighbouring Countries, they rather choſe to abandon the Land, than join heartily againſt the common Enemy; who brought at this time on them ſuch a terrible Deſolation by the Sword, Fire and Famine, as hardly ever befel any Country.

The King of *Dahomè*'s Invaſion.

This common Enemy was the King of *Dahomè*, a far inland Prince, who for ſome Years paſt had rendered himſelf famous, by many Victories gained over his Neighbours. He ſent an Ambaſſador to the King of *Whidaw*, requeſting to have an open Traffick to the Sea ſide, and of-

fering to pay him his uſual Cuſtoms on *Negroes* exported: which being refuſed, he from that time reſolved to reſent it, when Opportunity offered. This the King of *Whidaw* was ſo far from apprehending, that in an Audience I had of him, ſoon after the Ambaſſador's Departure, he told me; if the King of *Dahomè* ſhould offer to invade him, he would not uſe him when taken according to their Cuſtom, that is, cut off his Head, but would keep him for a Slave to do the vileſt Offices.

His Conqueſts.

And here 'tis neceſſary to make a ſhort Digreſſion concerning the King of *Dahomè*'s Conqueſts. Being a politick and couragious Prince, he had ſuch Succeſs againſt his Neighbours, in a few Years, that he conquered towards the Sea Coaſt, as far as the Kingdom of *Ardra*, which is the next inland Country adjoining to *Whidaw*; and then reſolved to remain quiet for ſome time, in order to ſettle his Conqueſts. But an Accident ſoon called him again to Arms, for the King of *Ardra* having much injured his own Brother,

named

named *Huſſar*; the latter ſent privately to the King of *Dahomè*, and offered him a large Sum of Money to revenge him for the many Affronts he had receiv'd from the King his Brother. This the politick Prince ſoon liſten'd to; and the King of *Ardra* having diſcovered the Matter, ſent to the *Whidaws*, repreſenting to them, it was their common Intereſt to oppoſe this Conqueror; but they moſt imprudently refuſed to lend him their Aſſiſtance. So being obliged to encounter alone the King of *Dahomè*, he met him with all the Forces he could raiſe, which was about fifty thouſand Men of his own People, and after a three Days Engagement, his Army was totally defeated, and himſelf taken Priſoner. Soon after which he was beheaded in the Conqueror's Preſence according to the barbarous Cuſtom of theſe black Princes.

Bullfinch Lambe.

There was at that time in the Country of *Ardra* a white Gentleman, named *Bullfinch Lambe*, who was detained Priſoner by the King on this occaſion: Having been ſent by the Governour of the

African Company's Settlement at *Jaqueen*, on ſome Buſineſs to the King of *Ardra*, this Prince detained him, under pretence the Company owed him for one hundred Slaves, formerly ſent down to their Factory; and he ſent word to the Governour, if he did not forthwith pay him this Debt, he would make Mr. *Lambe* a Slave. Which the Governour refuſing to do, he remained a Priſoner about two Years, being uſed very hardly 'till he was taken in this War by the King of *Dahomè*: Being brought into the King's Preſence (who had never before ſeen a white Man) he was treated very kindly by his Majeſty, and had, in a ſhort time after, a Houſhold appointed for him with many Servants, and the King beſtowed on him ſome of his near Relations for Wives. Having remained with this Prince near three Years, he was at his own earneſt Deſire, diſmiſs'd with a noble Preſent of Gold and Slaves, in order to go for *Europe*: And his Majeſty by a Meſſenger, to the Towns and Villages he paſſed through, in his way to *Jaqueen* on the Sea ſide, ordered the Inha-

Inhabitants to ſhew him all poſſible Reſpect, and provide nobly for his Entertainment.

After this Gentleman's Departure, the King of *Dahomè* reſolved to invade the Country of *Whidaw*; which, as I have been told, Mr. *Lambe* had diſſuaded him from; repreſenting the great number of the Inhabitants, who were much uſed to Fire-Arms. Moreover, that the white People reſident and trading there, would no doubt aſſiſt them for their own Intereſt: So that there was no probability of Succeſs. But this politick Prince finding by his Spies, how much the great Men and People were divided, and that the King was only a Cypher in the Government; he marched againſt them. The firſt part of the Country he invaded was the northernmoſt, of which a great Lord named *Appragah* was hereditary Governour, who forthwith ſent to his King for Aſſiſtance: But through the Intereſt of his Enemies at Court, who wiſhed his Deſtruction, he was refuſed: So having made a little Reſiſtance, he ſubmitted to the

Whidaw invaded.

the King of *Dahomè*, who received him very kindly.

The Conqueſt of *Appragah* gave the King an eaſy Entrance into the Heart of the Country; but he was obliged to halt there by a river, which runs about half a Mile to the northward of the principal Town of the *Whidaws*, called *Sabee*, the Reſidence of their King. Here the King of *Dahomè* encamped for ſome time, not imagining he could have found ſo eaſy a Paſſage and Conqueſt as he met with afterwards. For the Paſs of the River was of that Nature, it might have been defended againſt his whole Army, by five hundred reſolute Men; but inſtead of guarding it, theſe cowardly luxurious People, thinking the fame of their numbers ſufficient to deter the *Dahomes* from attempting it, kept no ſet Guard. They only went every Morning and Evening to the River ſide, to *make Fetiche* as they call it, that is, to offer Sacrifice to their principal God, which was a particular harmleſs *Snake* they adored, and prayed to on this occaſion, to keep their Enemies from coming over the River. And

And, as worſhiping a Snake may ſeem very extravagant to ſuch as are unacquainted with the Religion of the *Negroes*, I ſhall inform the Reader of the Reaſons given for it by the People of *Whidaw*. This ſort of Snake is peculiar to their Country, being of a very ſingular Make; for they are very big in the middle, rounding on the Back like a Hog, but very ſmall at the Head and Tail, which renders their Motion very ſlow. Their Colour is yellow and white, with brown Streaks; and ſo harmleſs, that if they are accidentally trode on (for it is a capital Crime to do it wilfully) and they bite, no bad Effect enſues; which is one Reaſon they give for their worſhipping of them. Moreover, there is a conſtant Tradition amongſt them, that whenever any Calamity threatens their Country, by imploring the Snake's Aſſiſtance, they are always delivered from it. However this fell out formerly, it now ſtood them in no ſtead; neither were the Snakes themſelves ſpared after the Conqueſt. For they being in great Numbers, and a kind of domeſtick Animals, Snakes worſhipped.

Animals, the Conquerors found many of them in the Houſes, which they treated in this manner: They held them up by the middle, and ſpoke to them in this manner: *If you are Gods, ſpeak and ſave your ſelves:* Which the poor Snakes not being able to do, the *Dahomes* cut their Heads off, ripped them open, broiled them on the Coals, and eat them. It is very ſtrange, the Conquerors ſhould ſo far contemn the Gods of this Country, ſince they are ſo barbarous and ſavage themſelves, as to offer human Sacrifices whenever they gain a Victory over their Enemies; an Eye-Witneſs to which I was, as hereafter ſhall be related.

But to return to the King of *Dahomè*. He was ſo politick as to ſend to the *Europeans*, then reſiding at *Whidaw*, to aſſure them, if they ſtood neuter, and were not found in Arms they ſhould receive no Damage in their Perſons or Goods, in caſe he proved Conqueror; and that he would eaſe their Trade, and remove divers Impoſitions laid on it by the King of *Whidaw:* On the contrary, if they

appeared againſt him, they muſt expect his Reſentment. But they were in a Dilemma; for tho' the King of *Whidaw* did not deſire otherwiſe, yet they would gladly have retired from *Sabee* to two mud-walled Forts, belonging to the *Engliſh* and *French African Companies*, which are within three Miles of the Sea ſide. However, finding it would have been reſented by the King as a Diſcouragement to his People, they were obliged to remain in the Town, never ſuſpecting the Inhabitants would have run away in the cowardly manner they did; or that they ſhould ſhare the Fate of War with them.

The Paſs of the River being, as I have related above, wholly left to the Care of the Snakes, whom the Enemy little feared; and they having obſerved for ſeveral Days, that the *Whidaws* kept no ſet Guard there, it encouraged the King of *Dahome*'s General to ſend two hundred of his Soldiers to ford the River: Which having done without Oppoſition, and being bold Fellows, they marched towards

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the Town of *Sabee*, ſounding their muſical Inſtruments. This was about three a Clock in the Afternoon, and the Out-guards of the Town were almoſt all aſleep; but being rouſed by the Noiſe of the Enemy's Muſick and Shouts, they fled into the Town, reporting, that all the *Dahome* Army was got over the River: Which ſoon reaching the King's Ear, he immediately fled, with all his People, making no Reſiſtance. I was informed by the white People, then in the *Engliſh* and *French* Forts, that about five a Clock the ſame Afternoon, they ſaw ſuch Numbers of People flying from all Parts of the Country towards the Sea ſide, that it was very ſurprizing: For the Fields were covered with them many Miles round, and their black Colour made them the more conſpicuous in a clear ſunſhiny Day, on a fine flat champaign Country. The King, with a great number of his Subjects fled to an Iſland on the Sea Coaſt, which was parted from the main Land by a River, having ferried over in Canoes; but a great many that could not have the ſame

Benefit,

Benefit, being hurried on by their Fears, were drowned in the Rivers, in attempting to ſwim to the Iſlands lying near *Popoe*; which was the next neighbouring Country to their own, on the Sea Coaſt to the Weſtward; and where they might have been ſecure from their Enemies, had they eſcaped. Moreover, many thouſands of theſe poor People that ſheltered themſelves up and down the Country among the Buſhes, periſhed afterwards by Sword and Famine.

But now to return to the *Dahomè* Soldiers: When they firſt came to *Sabee*, it ſeems they marched directly to the King's Court, where not finding him, they ſet it on Fire; and then ſent their General word of what had happened; who brought the whole Army over the River that Evening. He was in ſuch a Surprize at his good Fortune, that he could hardly believe what he ſaw; and the white Gentlemen were as much amazed, to ſee the great Cowardice of theſe People, who had vapoured ſo highly, and as ignominiouſly quitted the Town without oppoſing

their

their Enemies in the leaſt, leaving them intirely in the Power of the Conquerors, with all their own Riches. Mr. *Duport*, who was then the *African Company*'s Governour, told me, that when the *Dahomè* Soldiers, who had never ſeen white Men before, came to his Houſe, they ſtood in amaze, and would not venture near him, till he beckon'd and held out his Hand to them. Whereupon they laid hold on him, and finding him a Man like themſelves in all Reſpects, except Colour, ſoon laid aſide their Reverence; and taking from him what he had valuable in his Pockets, made him Priſoner, with about forty other white Men, *Engliſh*, *French*, *Dutch* and *Portugueſe*, who were ſerved in the ſame manner. Amongſt them was *Jeremiah Tinker* Eſq; who had juſt before reſigned the *African Company*'s Affairs to Mr. *Duport*, and deſigned, if this Accident had not prevented him, to have embarked in a few Days for *England*. But Segnor *Pereira* the *Portugueſe* Governour, had the good Fortune to eſcape from *Sabee*, to the *French* Fort. He told me,

had

he was in great fear of being ſmothered in the Preſs of the flying People, whom he could hardly keep off with his Dagger, from the Hammock he was carried in on Mens Shoulders. The Day after the taking of the Town of *Sabee*, the white Men taken Priſoners, were ſent into the Country to the King of *Dahomè*, who lay then encamped with another Army, about forty Miles off in the Kingdom of *Ardra*; ſome Hammocks being provided for the principal white People amongſt them, which is the uſual way of travelling in this Country for Gentlemen either white or black.

Mr. *Duport* further told me, that as ſoon as they came into the Camp, they were ſeparated according to their Nations, being delivered to, and put under the Care of, ſeveral principal black Gentlemen. At firſt they were badly accommodated; for it was ſome Days before he could obtain an Audience of the King; which when he did, he greatly complained of the Uſage he had met with in all Reſpects. On this his Majeſty ſaid,

" He was very ſorry for what had hap-
" pen'd, for he had given Orders to his
" Captains, in caſe they met with Suc-
" ceſs, to uſe the white Men well; but
" he hoped they would excuſe what had
" befallen them, which was to be attri-
" buted to the Fate of War: Confeſſing,
" he was much ſurprized when he was
" firſt informed, ſo many white People
" were made Priſoners, and ſoon after
" brought to his Camp. That in the
" Confuſion of Things he had not regard-
" ed them ſo much as he ought; but for
" the future, they ſhould have better
" Treatment." Which accordingly they found; but could never recover any thing taken from them, that being put on the ſcore of the Fate of War. However, a few Days after, they were ſet at Liberty without any Ranſom, and ſent down to the *Engliſh* and *French* Forts. The principal Gentlemen amongſt them were preſented with Slaves, and his Majeſty aſſured them, as ſoon as he had ſettled his Conqueſt, he would make Trade flouriſh, and have a particular Regard to their Intereſts. The

The latter end of *March*, in the Year 1726-7, I arrived with the *Katharine Galley* in the Road of *Whidaw*, where I landed, and went to the *Engliſh* Fort, which is about three Miles from the Sea ſide, and likewiſe to the *French* Fort near adjoining. The white People that had been taken Priſoners, being returned to thoſe Places but a few Days before, gave me a full account of the great Calamity fallen on the Country, about three Weeks before my Arrival; which gave me much Concern, I having traded there ſeveral Voyages. It was a lamentable Story to hear, and a diſmal Sight to ſee, the Deſolation of ſo fine a Country, lately exceeding populous, now deſtroyed in ſuch a manner by Fire and Sword. The Carnage of the Inhabitants was, above all, a moſt moving Spectacle, the Fields being ſtrewed with their Bones. Moreover the Concern for the Intereſt of my Voyage affected me not a little. But knowing it highly neceſſary to keep up my Spirits in ſo hot a Country, I reſolved (humbly relying on Providence) not to be wanting

in my Endeavours, for the Intereſt I had under my Care; and I met with far greater Succeſs than any way I could have reaſonably expected, conſidering the melancholy Proſpect I had then of Affairs, which ſhall be related hereafter.

Having ſtayed three Days on Shore with the *Engliſh* and *French*, who, I found, were in as great a Doubt as my ſelf how to act in their Affairs; I came to a Reſolution to go for the Port or Road of *Jaqueen*, which lies about ſeven Leagues to the Eaſtward of *Whidaw*; and has about thirty Miles of Sea-Coaſt. This Place has always been the Sea Port to the Kingdom of *Ardra*, and tributary to it; having a hereditary Governour, who paid his Tribute in Loaves of Salt, there being great Quantities made here.

As ſoon as the King of *Dahomè* had conquered *Ardra*, the Lord of this Place ſent his Submiſſion, offering the uſual Tribute he uſed to pay the conquered King; which was readily accepted. This ſhews the Policy of the King of *Dahomè*; for tho' he had made a terrible Deſtruction

on

on of the Inhabitants of the inland Countries he had conquered from Time to Time; yet he knew his Intereſt too well, to deſtroy the People of this Country in the ſame manner; for having now obtained his Deſires, in gaining a free Paſſage to the Sea-Side, he judged the *Jaqueens* would be very uſeful to him, becauſe they underſtood Trade, and now by their means, he ſhould never want a ſupply of Arms and Gunpowder, to carry on his deſigned Conqueſts. Moreover theſe People had ever been Rivals to the *Whidaws* in Trade, and had an inveterate Hatred againſt them, becauſe they had drawn almoſt the whole trade from the *Jaqueens*, to their own Country. For, the Pleaſantneſs thereof, with the good Government in former Times, had induced the *Europeans* to carry on the far greater part of the Trade, at their principal Town of *Sabee*.

It was on the third of *April* 1727, we anchored in the Road of *Jaqueen*; and ſoon after I ſent on Shore my Surgeon, to the Lord of that Place, to ſettle an

Agreement with him, before I landed my ſelf; for I had never been at this Place, and had a Hint given me not to truſt him, before all the Particulars I demanded were agreed to by him; for he had formerly plaid baſe Tricks with ſome *Europeans*, who had not taken ſuch a Precaution. In the Evening my Surgeon ſent me a Letter, informing me, he had obtained all I deſired; For the Performance of which the Lord of the Place had taken his *Fetiche* or Oath, in preſence of a *French* and *Dutch* Gentleman: On this Aſſurance I landed the next Day, and went up to the Town of *Jaqueen*, which lies about three Miles from the Sea ſide, where I was received very kindly, the Promiſes and Agreement made with my Surgeon being renewed, and a Houſe appointed me to keep Factory in.

The next Day a Meſſenger came from the King of *Dahomè*, whoſe Name was *Buttenoe*. He ſpoke very good *Engliſh*, and told me, " His Majeſty having heard " there was an *Engliſh* Ship arrived in the " Road of *Whidaw*, he had ordered him

" to

"to go there and invite the Captain to "come up to his Camp; (which was "about forty Miles directly within the "Land in the Country of *Ardra*) but being "told there I was gone for *Jaqueen*, he "had followed me to make the King's De-"ſire known to me: Aſſuring me in his "Majeſty's Name, I ſhould be intirely "ſafe in all Reſpects, and kindly uſed."

To this I anſwered, "I would con-"ſider his Majeſty's kind Invitation, and "he ſhould know my Reſolution next "Day." But perceiving I had ſome Diſ-truſt in my Mind, he repreſented to me, "That if I did not go, it would highly "offend the King; that he feared I "ſhould not be permitted to trade, be-"ſides other bad Conſequences might "follow." This black Meſſenger, as mentioned above, ſpoke very good *Engliſh*, having learnt it when a Boy in the *Engliſh* Factory at *Whidaw*: He belonged to Mr. *Lambe*, and was with him at the time he was taken Priſoner by the King of *Ardra*. They both fell into the King of *Dahomè*'s Power, as related above,

where he learnt the Country Language; and in this reſpect I had as capable an Interpreter as I could deſire. So, upon conſidering the matter, finding the Intereſt of my Voyage depended on my going to the Camp to wait on the King, I reſolved to undertake it, tho' the many Barbarities I had been told his People had been guilty of, gave me ſome Concern. However, ſoon after, I had further Encouragement, by others offering to accompany me. For a *Dutch* Captain's Curioſity prompted him to it, whoſe Ship had been deſtroyed juſt before by the *Portugueſe*: Moreover the *Dutch* chief Factor propoſed to ſend one of his Writers with large Preſents to the Conqueror; likewiſe the Lord of *Jaqueen* offered to ſend his own Brother, to pay his Duty, with great Preſents to the King; not having done it before. So having prepared all Things for our Journey, which took us up three Days, we ſet out in the following manner.

The Author's Journey to the King of *Dahomè*'s Camp.

The eighth of *April*, at nine a Clock in the Morning, being accompanied with the aforeſaid Perſons, we went to the Side

of

of the River that runs on the Back part of the Town of *Jaqueen*, having in our Retinue One hundred black Servants. We ferried over the River in *Canoes*, which are a ſort of Boats, made of large Trees hollowed. The People of the Town attended us in great numbers to the water ſide, praying for our ſucceſs: For they were under terrible apprehenſions for our ſafety, amongſt ſuch barbarous People as we were going to: Eſpecially they were highly concerned for the Duke, their Lord's Brother, who was a Perſon endowed with the moſt amiable qualities I ever met with amongſt Perſons of his Colour.

Being landed on the other ſide of the River, we ſet out on our Journey, the proper ſervants of each perſon attending in their ſeveral places. I had ſix Hammock-men, who relieved one another by turns; two at a time being only required to carry the Pole which it is faſtened to. I had likewiſe a ſmall Horſe to ride on, when I was weary with lying in the Hammock. The other Gentlemen were accom-

accommodated in the ſame manner. Our travelling was at the rate of about four miles an hour; for we made frequent Stops for our Baggage-carriers, there being no Carts nor good Horſes at *Jaqueen*; the few Horſes that are there being but little bigger than our Aſſes. The Country, as we travelled along, appeared beautiful and pleaſant, and the Roads good; but deſolated by the War, for we ſaw the remains of abundance of Towns and Villages, with a great quantity of the late Inhabitants bones ſtrewed about the Fields.

Noon-time being paſt, we dined under ſome Cocoe-trees, on the cold Proviſion we carried with us; and in the Evening being come to a few ſorry Hovels, we put up there for the night, and lay on the ground on mats, (the huts not being big enough to hang our hammocks up in) and the greateſt part of our Attendants were obliged to lye in the open Air.

The next day about ſeven a clock in the morning, we ſet out again, and by nine came within half a mile of the King's Camp. Here we halted, and judge

judge we had then travelled about forty miles from *Juqueen*. Soon after a Meſſenger came from his Majeſty to compliment and welcome us; and being told it was proper to prepare our ſelves, we took our beſt apparel out of our trunks, and dreſs'd our ſelves under the covert of an old wall; and ſoon after we advanced within a little way of the Camp, where we were deſired to wait for a great Man who was to receive us. The King, it ſeems, to do us the more honour, ſent the principal perſon of his Court (whom the *Negroes* diſtinguiſh'd to us by the Title of the *Great Captain*) to receive us; which he did in a very extraordinary manner. For he came in the midſt of five hundred Soldiers, who had Fire-arms, drawn Swords, Shields, and Banners in their hands, uſing ſo many odd and ridiculous Ceremonies, (as they appeared to us) that at firſt we could not judge, whether they meant us well or ill: For the Great Captain, with ſome of his Officers, approached us, with their Swords drawn, flouriſhing them over our heads, then

pointing them to our Breaſts, and ſkipping and jumping about us, like ſo many monkies, ſhowing as many tricks and poſtures, as that animal generally does. At laſt, after ſome time ſpent in this manner, the Great Man ſettled into a ſedate temper; Then he gave us his hand, welcoming us in the King's Name, and drank to us in Palm Wine, which is a Juice drawn from the Palm-tree, which is very common in that Country. We returned the Compliment, drinking the King's health both in Wine and Beer we had brought with us, which he ſeemed to be well pleaſed with: and all Ceremonies being ended, he deſired us to go with him towards the Camp; and accordingly we proceeded, the Soldiers guarding us, and the muſical Inſtruments making a diſmal noiſe.

In about half an hour's time we arrived at the Camp, which was near a very great ruin'd Town, late the principal place of the Kingdom of *Ardra*. Here the Army lay in tents, which, according to the *Negroe*-Cuſtom, were made of ſmall Boughs of

of Trees, and covered with Thatch, very much reſembling Bee-hives, but each big enough to hold ten or twelve Soldiers, who crept in at a hole on one ſide, and lay heads and points together. Upon our entring the Camp, we were conducted to ſome large Trees, where Chairs, (taken from the *Whidaws,)* were brought for us to ſit on, under the Shade of the Trees. Immediately ſuch Numbers of People flock'd about us, that if the Officers had not ordered the Soldiers to keep the the Multitude off, we ſhould have been in danger of being ſmothered. For tho' there had been forty white men taken at *Whidaw*, who were all brought up priſoners to this Camp, and afterwards releaſed, as related above, yet thouſands of people, who came ſince out of the far inland Countries, had never ſeen a white man before us.

Having reſted our ſelves about two hours, under the Shade of the Trees, and beheld divers Feats of Activity, performed by the Soldiers to divert us, we were conducted to a thatch'd Houſe, that had been

been prepared for us; and tho' we were obliged to ſtoop at our going in at the Door, yet there was height enough within to hang our Hammocks up to ſleep in, which was no little Satisfaction to us, for our Bones were hardly recovered, from the former night's Lodging on the Ground. After we had ſtowed our Baggage in the Tent, the great Man took his leave of us, but left a Guard to prevent any of the People from diſturbing us, and he went to the King to give his Majeſty an Account of our Arrival.

By this time Noon was come, ſo we ſet down to dinner on cold Ham and Fowls, which we had brought with us. Our Tent ſtood in the middle of a large Court paliſadoed round. We were ſurprized, that no People came into the place to ſee us, they having crouded ſo much at firſt, on our coming into the Camp: But I was told the King having been inform'd how we were incommoded, had given ſtrict Orders, no one, on pain of Death, ſhould, without leave of the Captain of our Guard, come to ſee us.

us. This was pleaſing news; for by this we found his Majeſty was duly obeyed, and alſo had our ſafety at heart. But we were plagued with a Vermin that greatly annoyed us; and that was ſuch an infinite number of Flies, that tho' we had ſeveral Servants with Flappers, to keep them off our Victuals, yet it was hardly poſſible to put a bit of Meat into our Mouths, without ſome of thoſe Vermin with it. Theſe Flies, it ſeems, were bred by a great number of dead Mens Heads, which were piled on Stages, not far from our Tent, tho' we did not know ſo much at that time.

After we had dined, a Meſſenger came to us, about three o' clock in the afternoon, from the *Great Captain*, deſiring us to go to the King's Gate; accordingly we went, and in our way ſaw two large Stages, on which were heaped a great number of dead Men's Heads, that afforded no pleaſing ſight or ſmell. Our Interpreter told us, they were the Heads of four thouſand of the *Whidaws*, who had been ſacrificed by the *Dahomès* to their God,

God, about three weeks before, as an Acknowledgment of the great Conqueſt they had obtain'd.

When we came to the King's Gate, as they call'd it, we found it only an Entrance into a large Court, which was paliſadoed round; there being ſeveral mud-wall'd Houſes in it. Here we were deſired to ſit down on Stools brought to us; and an Officer preſented us, in the King's name, with Cows, Sheep, Goats, and other Proviſion; with this Compliment, that as his Majeſty was then in a Camp, it was not in his power to provide for us better at this time. Having returned thanks for this unexpected favour, we went out of the Court, and were ſurprized with a ſight, at the Gate, of forty ſtout Men ranked in file, with Fuſees on their Shoulders, and broad Swords in their Hands; who had about their necks ſtrings of dead Mens Teeth, reaching as low as their middle, both behind and before, in ſuch Quantities, as might furniſh all the Barber-Surgeons Shops in *Europe*. Being ſurprized at this extraordinary appearance,

I aſked

I aſked the Linguiſt, Why they were dreſt in this manner? To which he replied, They were the King's *Heroes*, or *Worthies*, who had killed a great many People with their own hands, and were allowed, as a mark of their great Valour, to ſtring and wear their Enemies Teeth about their Necks; and, I might obſerve, ſome of them had been more ſucceſsful than others, by the different quantities they had on: For that it was made death by their Law, for any of thoſe Gentlemen to ſtring a Tooth, without firſt making due Proof, before the proper Officers, that it belonged to an Enemy ſlain with their own hand in Battle. Having viewed this ſtrange Sight, I bid the Linguiſt tell them, "They appeared to be a "Company of brave Gentlemen, and that "I was their humble Servant." This Compliment pleaſed them, and they returned it, ſaying, "They had a great "Eſteem forwhite Men."

After this was paſs'd, we returned to our Tent, and ſupped; then hung up our Hammocks, and lay in them till

Morning. I took notice, that the Lord of *Jaqueen*'s Brother, who came from thence with us, was entertained at the Tent of the *Great Captain*; and on my inquiring the reaſon, I was anſwered, It was in reſpect to us, that we might not be crouded in our Tent.

Next Morning, at nine a Clock, an Officer came from the King to acquaint us, we ſhould have an Audience forthwith. Accordingly we prepared our ſelves; and then going to the King's Gate, were ſoon after introduced into his Preſence. His Majeſty was in a large Court paliſadoed round, ſitting (contrary to the Cuſtom of the Country) on a fine gilt Chair, which he had taken from the King of *Whidaw*. There were held over his Head, by Women, three large Umbrellas, to ſhade him from the Sun: And four other Women ſtood behind the Chair of State, with Fuſils on their Shoulders. I obſerved, the Women were finely dreſs'd from the middle downward, (the Cuſtom of the Country being not to cover the Body upward, of either Sex) moreover they

they had on their Arms, many large Manelloes, or Rings of Gold of great Value, and round their Necks, and in their Hair, abundance of their Country Jewels, which are a ſort of Beads of divers Colours, brought from a far inland Country, where they are dug out of the Earth, and in the ſame Eſteem with the *Negroes*, as Diamonds amongſt the *Europeans*.

The King had a Gown on, flowered with Gold, which reached as low as his Ancles; an *European* embroidered Hat on his Head; with Sandals on his Feet. We being brought within ten Yards of the Chair of State, were deſired to ſtand ſtill: The King then ordered the Linguiſt to bid us welcome; on which we paid his Majeſty the reſpect of our Hats, bowing our Heads at the ſame time very low, as the Interpreter directed us. Then I ordered the Linguiſt to acquaint the King, " That on his Majeſty's ſending, to de- " ſire me to come up to his Camp, I " forthwith reſolved on the Journey; " that I might have the pleaſure of ſee-

" ing ſo great and good a King, as I " heard he was; relying intirely on the " Promiſes his Meſſenger had made me " in his Majeſty's Name." The King ſeemed well pleaſed with what I ſaid, and aſſured us of his Protection and kind uſage. Then Chairs being brought, we were deſired to ſit down, and the King drank our Healths; and then Liquor being brought us by his Order, we drank his Majeſty's. After this the Interpreter told us, " It was the King's Deſire we " ſhould ſtay ſome time with him, to ſee " the Method of paying the Soldiers " for Captives taken in War, and the " Heads of the ſlain.

It ſo happen'd, that in the Evening of the Day we came into the Camp, there were brought above eighteen hundred Captives, from a Country called *Tuffoe*, at the diſtance of ſix days Journey. The occaſion of warring on them, the Linguiſt thus related, " That at the time " his King was wholly employed in " contriving the Deſtruction of the " *Whidaws*, theſe People had preſumed

" to

" to attack five hundred of his Sol-
" diers, ſent by his Majeſty as a Guard
" to twelve of his Wives, who were
" going with a large quantity of Goods
" and fine things, carried by Slaves, to
" the Country of *Dahomè*. The Guard
" being routed, and the Women ſlain,
" the *Tuffoes* poſſeſs'd themſelves of
" the Goods; for which Outrage, as
" ſoon as the Conqueſt of *Whidaw* was
" compleated, the King ſent part of his
" Army againſt them, to revenge him
" for their Villany; in which they had
" all deſirable Succeſs." It was neceſſary to mention this Affair, for the better underſtanding of what follows, it being ſo very remarkable.

The King, at the time we were preſent, ordered the Captives of *Tuffoe* to be brought into the Court: Which being accordingly done, he choſe himſelf a great number out of them, to be ſacrificed to his *Fetiche* or Guardian Angel; the others being kept for Slaves for his own uſe; or to be ſold to the *Europeans*. There were proper Officers, who received the

Captives from the Soldiers hands, and paid them the Value of twenty Shillings Sterling for every Man, in *Cowries*, (which is a Shell brought from the *Eaſt Indies*, and carried in large quantities to *Whidaw* by the *Europeans*, being the current Money of all the neighbouring Countries far and near) and ten Shillings for a Woman, Boy, or Girl. There were likewiſe brought by the Soldiers ſome thouſands of dead Peoples Heads into the Court; every Soldier, as he had Succeſs, bringing in his hand one, two, three, or more Heads hanging in a String; and as the proper Officers received them, they paid the Soldiers *five Shillings* for each Head: Then ſeveral People carried them away, in order to be thrown on a great Heap of other Heads, that lay near the Camp; the Linguiſt telling us his Majeſty deſigns to build a Monument with them, and the Heads of other Enemies formerly conquered and killed.

I obſerved, there were a great many of the principal Men of the Court and Army preſent, all proſtrated on the Ground; none

none being permitted to go nearer, than within twenty foot of the King's Chair; and whatſoever they had to ſay to his Majeſty, firſt kiſſing the Ground, they whiſpered into the Ear of an old Woman, who went to the King; and having received his anſwer, ſhe returned with it to them. His Majeſty likewiſe ſhowed his Liberality to his Courtiers and Officers, in preſenting them with at leaſt two hundred Captives. As ſoon as any perſon had a Slave preſented to them, a proper Officer made Proclamation of it, which was immediately echoed by the Populace, who were waiting in great numbers at the King's Gate for the Sacrifices.

After the Buſineſs of the Captives was diſpatch'd, there came into the Court two Fellows, with a large Tub, that had in it at leaſt ſix Gallons of Frumenty, or ſuch like ſtuff, which they ſet on the Ground; and then falling on their Knees, they took with their Hands the Victuals out of the Tub, and threw it ſo faſt into their Mouths, that tho' there was ſuch a

quantity of it, they diſpatch'd it in a few Minutes. The Linguiſt told us, this was their daily Practice; but that theſe Gormandizers lived not many Years, and then others took up their Trade; which is only in order to divert the King.

After this we ſaw ſeveral other things, full as ridiculous as this, which would be tedious for me to relate, as well as to the Reader to peruſe; ſo having been near three Hours in the Court, expoſed to the great heat of the Sun, from which we had nothing but Umbrellas to defend us, we deſired his Majeſty's Leave, to retire to our Tent, which was readily granted; accordingly we paid our Duty in a compliment to the King, and went away.

Sometime after this, we ſat down to Dinner in our Tent, being accompanied with a great number of Flies, as formerly mentioned. Juſt as we had dined, the Duke, Brother to the Lord of *Jaqueen*, came to us in ſo great a fright, that after he had ſat down, he could not ſpeak for ſome time: And tho' he was at other

times,

times, of a comely black colour, yet now his Countenance was changed to tawny: For as he was coming to our Tent, he ſaw a great number of poor People going to be ſacrificed; whoſe Lamentations had made ſuch an Impreſſion, that it had occaſioned this great diſorder in him. For the People of the Sea-Coaſt abhor ſuch things; eſpecially the eating their Bodies afterwards, as the *Dahomes* do. And 'tis not to be imagined, what ſervice the report of this did them, when they firſt invaded the Countries bordering on the Sea-Coaſt: On which I ſhall make a ſhort Digreſſion, to inform the Reader.

Diſcourſing afterwards with ſome of the principal People of *Ardra* and *Whidaw*, who had eſcaped the Conqueror's Sword, and telling them, what a Reproach and Diſgrace it was to the latter Nation to quit their Country to the *Dahomes* in ſo cowardly a manner as they had done; they anſwered, It was not poſſible to reſiſt ſuch *Cannibals*, the very Report of which had extremely intimidated their whole Nation. Whereupon I ob-

I obſerved to them, It was all one to a dead Carcaſe, whether it was eaten by their own kind, or by the Vultures, (of which there are great numbers in the Country) on which they ſhrugged up their Shoulders, ſaying, " The thoughts of be-
" ing eaten by their own Species, were far
" more terrible to them, than the Appre-
" henſions of being killed.

But to return again to the Duke, I endeavoured to allay his Fears, by repreſenting to him, we had the King's Promiſe for our Safety; and that ſacrificing their Enemies being the uſual cuſtom of the Country on any Conqueſt, he ought not to be ſo much ſurprized at it. But he replied, As to his own Safety he was very doubtful of it, the King not having yet admitted him to an Audience; ſo he requeſted he might remain in our Tent, as thinking himſelf ſafer with us, and accordingly we granted his requeſt. Then ſending for our Linguiſt, we deſired to know, Whether the *Dutch* Captain and my ſelf might be admitted to ſee the manner of the Sacrifices: (As for the *Dutch* Writer, he

choſe

choſe to remain in the Tent with the Duke) The Interpreter anſwered, He would go to the chief *Feticheer*, or Prieſt, and know, whether he would be pleaſed to give us leave. Soon after he returned, and informed us, Leave was granted: So we went with him, about a quarter of a mile from the Camp. There we found great numbers of People gathered together; and our Guard made way for us through the Croud, till we came near four ſmall Stages, which were erected about five foot from the ground. We ſtood cloſe to them, and obſerved the Ceremony, which was performed in the following manner. *Human Sacrifices.*

The firſt Victim we ſaw, was brought to the ſide of the Stage. It was a comely old Man, between fifty and ſixty Years of Age. His hands were tied behind him; and in his behaviour, he ſhowed a brave and undaunted Mind, nothing like Fear appearing in him. As he ſtood upright by the Stage, a *Feticheer*, or Prieſt, laid his Hand on his Head, ſaying ſome words of Conſecration, which laſted about

about two Minutes. Then he gave the ſign of Execution, to a Man that ſtood behind the Victim with a broad Sword, who immediately ſtruck him on the nape of the Neck, with ſuch force, that the Head was ſevered at one Blow, from the Body; whereupon the Rabble gave a great Shout. The Head was caſt on the Stage, and the Body, after having lain a little while on the Ground, that the Blood might drain from it, was carried away by Slaves, and thrown in a place adjoining to the Camp. The Linguiſt told us, the Head of the Victim was for the King; the Blood for the *Fetiche*, or God; and the Body for the common People. We ſaw many other Perſons ſacrificed in this lamentable manner, and obſerved, That the Men went to the ſide of the Stages, bold and unconcerned; but the Cries of the poor Women and Children were very moving, and much affected the *Dutch* Captain and My ſelf, tho' in a different manner: For he expreſſed his Fears to me, That the Prieſts might take it into their Heads, to ſerve us in the ſame manner,

ner, if they ſhould fancy white People would be more acceptable to their God, than perſons of their own colour. This notion raiſed ſome fear in me, but recollecting my ſelf, I told him, " As the " King was ſo greatly reverenced and " feared, I was in good hopes nothing " would be attempted on us; and that " we ought to put a good face on the " matter, and withdraw from ſo terrible " a Sight, the firſt opportunity." Soon after, a principal Man of the Court came and ſtood by us, and bid the Interpreter aſk us, " How we liked the Sight?" To which we replied, " Not at all: For " our God had expreſly forbid us uſing " Mankind in ſo cruel a manner: That " our Curioſity had drawn us to come " and ſee it; which if we had not done, " we could never have believed it." Then I aſked the Linguiſt, Whether this Gentleman was accounted a generous good humoured Man? To which the Linguiſt replying in the affirmative, I ventured to put this Queſtion to him, " That if his " Fate had brought him into the ſame

" Misfortune, as theſe poor Captives were " now in, how he ſhould like it? He " readily anſwered, Not at all. On this " I obſerved to him, that the grand Law " both of Whites and Blacks, with all " their Fellow Creatures was: *To do to* " *others no otherwiſe, than as they deſired to* " *be done unto:* And that our God had en- " joined this to us on pain of very ſevere " Puniſhments." To which he anſwered, This was the Cuſtom of his Country; and ſo he left us.

Preſently after this Gentleman's departure, there came to us a Colonel of the Army, whom we had ſeen at *Jaqueen*, the day before we ſet out on our Journey. This perſon ſeemed very friendly and glad to ſee us, and ready to reſolve any Queſtions we put to him. Amongſt the reſt, I told him, " That I wondered they " ſhould ſacrifice ſo many People, of " whom they might otherwiſe make " good advantage, by ſelling them." He replied, " It had ever been the Cuſtom of " their Nation, after any Conqueſt, to " offer to their God a certain number of

" Cap-

" Captives, which were always choſe out
" from among the Priſoners, by the King
" himſelf: For they firmly believed,
" ſhould this be omitted, no more Suc-
" ceſs would attend them. And he ar-
" gued for the Neceſſity and Uſefulneſs
" of their doing it, from the large Con-
" queſts they had made within a few
" Years, without any Defeat." Then I aſked him, " Why ſo many old Men were
" ſacrificed in particular? He anſwered,
" It was beſt to put them to death; for
" being grown wiſe by their Age and long
" Experience, if they were preſerved,
" they would be ever plotting againſt their
" Maſters, and ſo diſturb the Country;
" for they never would be eaſy under
" Slavery, having been the chief Men in
" their own Land. Moreover, if they
" ſhould be ſpared, no *European* would buy
" them, on account of their Age." I then obſerved to him, That I had ſeen ſeveral handſome young People ſacrificed, whom I was ſure the *Europeans* would gladly have bought. He replied, " They were de-
" ſigned to attend in the other World the

" King's Wives, whom the *Tuffoes* their " Countrymen had ſlain." By which Anſwer I found they have a Notion of a future State, tho' a very rude one. And this put me upon aſking him, What Opinions they held concerning their God? To which he gave a very confuſed and imperfect Anſwer; ſo that all I could gather from his Diſcourſe was, That they eſteemed him as an inviſible Guardian Angel, ſubordinate to another God; adding, " Perhaps that God might be " ours, who had communicated ſo many " extraordinary Things to white Men; " as he had been informed by Mr. *Lambe*: " But as that God had not been pleaſed " to make himſelf known to them, they " muſt be ſatisfied with this they wor- " ſhipped."

By this time the Mob being grown thin, on the ſide where we ſtood, I told the Linguiſt, we would return to our Tent; and I invited the Colonel to go along with us, which he readily promiſed. Accordingly our Guard having made way for us, we left this horrible Place and Sight,

not

not having received the leaſt Affront, tho' we were near two Hours by the Stages.

At our return we underſtood, the King had ſent the Duke word, he ſhould have an Audience that Evening; whereupon I endeavoured to cheer him up by telling him, " That we had been civilly uſed at " the Sacrifices, and that nothing could " more conduce to his Reputation, than " his appearing before the King, in his " uſual ſprightly Carriage and Behaviour," which was indeed natural to him. On this he went from us to the Great Captain's Tent, in order to prepare himſelf to go to the Audience. But the Colonel remained with us, drinking merrily of *European* Liquors, and in the Evening he aſked us, " Whether we would take a " walk, and ſee that Quarter of the Camp " where his Tent ſtood?" This we readily agreed to, and in our way paſt by the place where the ſacrificed Bodies were thrown. There were two great heaps of them, conſiſting, as they ſaid, of four hundred Perſons, and who had been choſe out by the King that very Morning.

After we had been at the Colonel's Tent, where we were treated with Palm Wine, we returned to our own, being accompanied by him, and we desired him to stay to Supper. While we were eating, several Servants came with Dishes of Flesh and Fish, dress'd after the Country manner, and the Interpreter told us, they were sent by a Mulatto *Portuguese* Gentleman, who had been taken in the *Ardra* War. The King had ever since detained him Prisoner, allowing him a handsome Maintenance, and had given him a Wife much whiter than himself, who was born in the inland Country. Soon after the Victuals were brought, the Gentleman came himself, with his Wife, to see us; and after passing a handsome Compliment, they sat down to Supper with us. We were very glad of this new Acquaintance, the *Dutch Writer* speaking good *Portuguese*, and my self understanding a little; so that now we judged, we should not be obliged to trust intirely to our Linguist, this Person talking the Language of the Country fluently. I was

much ſurprized to ſee his Wife ſo white, equal to our *Engliſh* Women, only of not ſo lively a Colour. She had woolly Hair, like the blackeſt of the Natives, with the ſame Features. Her Huſband told us, ſhe was born in a far inland Country, of black Parents, who had never ſeen a white Man, nor ſhe before Mr. *Lambe*; whom he enquired affectionately after, ſaying, " That when he returned, accor- " ding to his Promiſe to the King, his " Majeſty had promiſed to grant him his " Liberty." Then, on his Importunity, we promiſed him a Viſit at his Houſe; and ſoon after, he and his Wife, with the Colonel, took their leaves, wiſhing us a good Night.

The next day, early in the morning, the Duke came to our Tent,and told us, he had, in the night paſt, a long Audience of the King, who treated him in a kind manner; ſo that his Apprehenſions of being kill'd and eaten were quite vaniſhed: but he told us with the utmoſt Horrour, that the ſacrifi- ced Bodies had been taken away in the night by the common People, who *Cannibals.*

had boiled and feaſted on them, as holy Food. This Story induced us to ſend for our Linguiſt, and take a walk to the place where we had ſeen the Carcaſes the evening before; and, to our great Surprize, we found they were all gone. Thereupon aſking the Interpreter, what was become of them? he replied ſmiling, the Vultures had eaten them up. I told him, "That was very extraordinary indeed, "to ſwallow Bones and all;" there being nothing remaining on the Place, but a great quantity of Blood. So he confeſſed, the *Feticheers*, or Prieſts, had divided the Carcaſes amongſt the People, who had eat them in the manner the Duke had told us. And tho' no doubt this will appear incredible to many Perſons, yet I deſire they will only make this one Reflection, That thoſe who could be ſo cruel as to ſacrifice their fellow-Creatures, might probably carry their Barbarity a Degree further.

However, as I relate nothing for matter of Fact, but what I was an Eye-witneſs to, ſo I ſhall leave the Reader to give what

what credit he pleaſes thereto. But as a further confirmation of their being Cannibals, I ſhall relate what I afterwards learn'd from one Mr. *Robert More*, who was a perſon of great Integrity, and at that time Surgeon of the *Italian Galley*. This Ship came to *Whidaw* whilſt I was at *Jaqueen*, and Captain *John Dagge*, the Commander, being indiſpoſed, ſent *More* to the King of *Dahomè*'s Camp, with Preſents for his Majeſty. There he ſaw many ſtrange things, eſpecially human Fleſh ſold publickly in the great Market-place. As I was not in the Market during the time I was in the Camp, I ſaw no ſuch thing: But I don't doubt but that I ſhould have ſeen the ſame, had I gone into that place, for there were many old and maimed Captives brought from *Tuffoe*, (beſides thoſe ſacrificed) which no *Europeans* would have bought.

But to return from this Digreſſion: On our return to the Tent, we ſent our Linguiſt to the great Captain, to deſire he would procure us an Audience from the King, to treat of Buſineſs: But he ſent

us word, That as his Majeſty was very much engaged, we could not be heard that day; there being ſome Embaſſadors come from the inland Countries, who were to have an Audience forthwith. On this I ſent again to the Great Captain, deſiring he would pleaſe to be mindful of us, on the firſt Opportunity; and he was unexpectedly ſo that Afternoon.

Having then nothing to do but ſit in our Tent, and make Memorandums of what we heard and ſaw; we aſked the Linguiſt, " Whether we might, without " Offence, go to ſee the Mulatto *Portu-* " *gueſe* Gentleman?" Thereupon he conſulted with a principal Perſon belonging to the Court, who often came by the King's Order to us, to enquire if we wanted any thing: And he approving of it, we prepared to go, but firſt had this Caution given us; that there being two Embaſſadors in the Camp from the King of *Whidaw*, to offer his Subjection, if we ſhould meet with any of their People in the Street, we ſhould not hold any Conference with them. Which having promiſed,

we

we went to the *Portugueſe* Gentleman's Houſe, who received us very kindly, thinking he could not make us welcome enough; and as we could underſtand him, we ſent our Interpreter away, under pretence of an Errand to the Duke. After he was gone, the firſt thing we deſired of this Gentleman, was, to give us ſome hints, how we ſhould behave, when we came to treat of Buſineſs with the King; which he readily did, ſpeaking ſo highly of the King's Policy and Generoſity, that we were much ſurprized, tho' afterwards we experienced the full of what he told us. This Perſon had in the Court of his Houſe two pretty Horſes, each about thirteen hands high, which were every way much better than thoſe we had ſeen at *Jaqueen.* Upon our aſking him, from whence he had them, he replied, "They "came from the Kingdom of *J-oe*; "which lies towards the North-Eaſt, "many days Journey off, beyond a great "and famous Lake, which is the Foun-"tain of ſeveral large Rivers, that "empty themſelves into the Bay of *Gui-*

" *nea.* And he further added, that seve-
" ral fugitive Princes, whose Fathers the
" King of *Dahomè* had conquered and be-
" headed, fled to the King of this Coun-
" try for Protection, and at last prevailed
" with him to make War on the King
" of *Dahomè*, which he did soon after
" the latter had conquered *Ardra.* The
" King of *J-oe* sent, under the Com-
" mand of a General, a great Army of
" Horse, consisting of many Thousands,
" (for they never use Infantry) where-
" with he invaded the *Dahomes* in their
" own Country: On this sudden and un-
" expected Invasion, the King of *Dahomè*
" marched immediately from *Ardra* into
" his own Kingdom, and made Head
" against the *J-oes.* But as he had none but
" Infantry, whose Arms were Guns and
" Swords, he was hard put to it: For the
" Country being open and without Inclo-
" sures, the Horsemen, who were armed
" with Bows and Arrows, Javelins and cut-
" ting Swords, had certainly conquer'd, if
" the unusual noise of the *Dahome*'s Fire-
" Arms had not so frightned the Horses,

" that

" that their Riders could never make a
" home-Charge on the Enemies Foot.
" However, the Diſpute having laſted, at
" times, four days, and the King of *Da-*
" *homè* finding his Soldiers ſo fatigued,
" that they could hold out but a little
" longer, he contrived this Stratagem:
" he had great quantities of Brandy
" by him, formerly bought at *Whidaw*,
" which is a principal Commodity the
" *French* Ships bring there, to exchange
" for Negroes. So the King reſolved to
" retreat in the Night with his Army,
" and leave the Liquor as a Bait for the
" Enemy, with great quantities of valu-
" able Goods, which were in ſtore, in a
" large Town near the Camp. When
" Day came, the *J-oes* thinking the *Da-*
" *homes* were fled, fell to plundering and
" deſtroying the Town, and drinking
" greedily of the Brandy: And as they
" ſeldom had taſted of that Liquor
" before, it ſo intoxicated them, that
" they fell aſleep in great numbers on the
" Ground. The King of *Dahomè* being
" informed of this by his Spies, returned

" with

" with the utmoſt ſpeed, and attacking
" them while they were in this Diſorder,
" routed them; but the greater part of
" the *J-oes* eſcaped with the help of their
" Horſes, and fled out of the Country:
" However, their Loſs was ſo great, that
" the others eſteemed it a compleat Vic-
" tory. The *Portugueſe* Gentleman ad-
" ded, that at the time of this Rout, he
" took the two Horſes we had ſeen in his
" Yard, and a great many more were
" ſeized at the ſame time by the *Dahomè*
" Soldiers. He ſaid further, (but enjoin-
" ed us Secrecy) That tho' the *Dahomes*
" were exceeding proud of this Victory,
" they were ſtill much afraid of a ſecond
" Invaſion, an Army of Horſes being
" very terrible to them: And that the
" King had lately ſent great Preſents to
" the King of *J-oe*, to prevent his attack-
" ing him a ſecond time. However, in
" caſe he did it, and they ſhould not be
" able to withſtand them, they comforted
" themſelves with this Thought, that
" they might ſave their Perſons, by flying
" to the Sea Coaſt, to which the *J-oes*
" durſt

" durſt not follow them. For as their " national *Fetiche* was the Sea, they were " prohibited by their Prieſts from ever " ſeeing it, under no leſs a Penalty than " Death; which they made the People " believe, would by their God, if they " were ſo preſumptuous, be inflicted on " them." This laſt Story ſeemed nothing ſtrange to us, who had converſed with the Coaſt *Negroes*; for they have all their particular *Fetiches* after the ſame manner; ſome being prohibited eating Fowls that have white Feathers; others, on the contrary, are to eat none that have black: Some are to eat no Sheep, others no Goats. And abundance of ſuch other ſuperſtitious Obſervances they have, which are moſt religiouſly kept, being aſſigned them by the Prieſt, the Day they have their name given them.

By this time it was paſt Noon, ſo we took our leave of the *Portugueſe*, and went to our Tent to Dinner.

The Author has an Audience of the King of *Dahomè*.

About three a Clock that Afternoon, a Meſſenger came from the great Captain, to

to inform us, the King had appointed immediately to give us an Audience. This was an agreeable Surprize to us, for now we had hopes of being quickly diſpatch'd, ſo we prepared our ſelves, and went to the King's Gate, our Preſents for his Majeſty being carried before us.

On our coming into the Court, where we had ſeen the King at our former Audience, we were deſired to ſtay a little, till the Preſents were carried into the Houſe, that his Majeſty might view them. Soon after we were introduced into a ſmall Court, at the further end of which the King was ſitting croſs-legg'd on a Carpet of Silk, ſpread on the Ground: He was himſelf richly dreſs'd, and had but few Attendants. When we approached him, his Majeſty enquired in a very kind manner, How we did? ordering we ſhould be placed near him; and accordingly fine Mats were ſpread on the Ground for us to ſit on. Tho' ſitting in that Poſture was not very eaſy to us, yet we put a good Face on the matter, underſtanding by the Linguiſt, that it was their Cuſtom.

As

As ſoon as we were placed, the King ordered the Interpreter to aſk me, What I had to deſire of him? To which I anſwered, " That as my Buſineſs was to " trade, ſo I relied on his Majeſty's Good- " neſs, to give me a quick diſpatch, and " fill my Ship with *Negroes*; by which " means I ſhould return into my own " Country in a ſhort time; where I " ſhould make known how great and " powerful a King I had ſeen." To this the King replied by the Linguiſt, " That my deſire ſhould be fulfilled: " But the firſt Buſineſs to be ſettled was " his Cuſtoms." Thereupon I deſired his Majeſty to let me know what he expected? There was a Perſon then preſent (I believe on purpoſe) whoſe name was *Zunglar*, a cunning Fellow, who had formerly been the King's Agent for ſeveral Years at *Whidaw*; where I had ſeen him in my former Voyages. To him I was referred to talk about the Affair. So *Zunglar* told me, " his Maſter being re- " ſolved to encourage Trade, tho' he was " a Conqueror, yet he would not impoſe

" a

" a greater Cuſtom than uſed to be paid " to the King of *Whidaw*." I anſwered, " As his Majeſty was a far greater Prince, " ſo I hoped he would not take ſo much." This *Zunglar* not replying readily to, and the King obſerving it, (for the Linguiſt told him every word that paſs'd between us) His Majeſty himſelf replied, " That as he was the greater Prince, he " might reaſonably expect the more Cuſ- " tom; but as I was the firſt *Engliſh* Cap- " tain he had ſeen, he would treat me as " a young Wife or Bride, who muſt be " denied nothing at firſt." Being ſurprized at this turn of Expreſſion, I told the Linguiſt, " I was afraid he impoſed " on me, and interpreted the King's words " in too favourable a manner." His Majeſty obſerving I ſpoke with ſome Sharpneſs, aſked him what I ſaid? Which the Linguiſt having told him, his Majeſty ſmiled, and expreſſed himſelf again to the ſame purpoſe: Adding, " I ſhould find " his Actions anſwerable to his Words." Being greatly encouraged by the King's gracious Expreſſions towards me, I took the

the Liberty to repreſent to his Majeſty, " That the beſt way to make Trade flou- " riſh, was to impoſe eaſy Cuſtoms, and " to protect us from the Thievery of the " Natives, and the Impoſitions of great " Men; which the King of *Whidaw* not " doing, had greatly hurt the Trade. For " the ill uſage the *Europeans* had met " with of late from him and his People, " had cauſed them to ſend fewer Ships " than formerly they did. And tho' " a large Cuſtom might ſeem at firſt " for his Majeſty's Advantage, yet it would " ſoon be found, that a great number of " Ships would thereby be hindred from " coming to trade; ſo that in this reſpect " he would loſe far more in General, " than he would gain by that Particular."

The King took what I ſaid in good part, telling me, " I ſhould name my " own Cuſtom," which I at firſt declined: But being preſt to do it a ſecond time, I told the Linguiſt to aſk his Majeſty, " Whether he would be pleaſed to take " one half of what we uſed to pay at " *Whidaw*?" To this the King readily agreed;

agreed; adding, " He deſigned to make " Trade flouriſh; and I might depend " upon it, he would prevent all Impoſi- " tions, and Thievery, and protect the " *Europeans* that came to his Country, " ſaying, that his God had made him " the Inſtrument to puniſh the King of " *Whidaw*, and his People, for the many " Villanies they had been guilty of to- " wards both Whites and Blacks: That " the Embaſſadors now in his Camp from " the ſaid King, had informed him of " me and my Character, and that by the " account they had given him of my " former dealings in their Country, he " could put much Confidence in me." Then his Majeſty having aſked me di- vers Queſtions concerning our former ill uſage in the Country of *Whidaw*, to which I anſwered as I thought proper; I took this Opportunity of pleading for the com- mon People of that Kingdom; repreſent- ing, " It was the great Men amongſt " them that had encouraged their thiev- " ing, in which they ſhared: But if his " Majeſty would be pleaſed to receive

" them

" them to Mercy, and reſtore them to
" their Country, on paying a certain
" Tribute, they would be of great ad-
" vantage to him; becauſe they were
" very induſtrious in cultivating the Land,
" and many of them underſtood Trade
" exceeding well, which his own People
" were little verſed in. Moreover it was
" a Maxim amongſt the white Princes,
" that the number of uſeful Subjects was
" their greateſt Glory and Strength; and
" if his Majeſty thought the ſame, he
" had an opportunity of adding many
" hundreds of thouſands to his former
" Vaſſals." To this the King replied,
" He was ſenſible of the truth of what I
" alledged, but that the Conqueſt of
" *Whidaw* could not be ſecured, till he
" had the King's Head; and he had al-
" ready offered the People to reſtore
" them to their Country, as ſoon as they
" ſhould ſend him alive or dead to his
" Camp." I did not think proper, on hearing this, to ſay any thing more on the matter, or obſerve to his Majeſty, how wrong a Policy it was, to oblige

Subjects to act ſo villanous a part towards their Sovereign. For as the Cuſtom of theſe black Princes was little known to us, I was afraid of giving offence: So I only anſwered, " That as " the King of *Whidaw* was on an Iſland " by *Popoe*, with many thouſands of his " People, the reſt that were diſperſed up " and down the Country in the Buſhes, " could not poſſibly perform what his " Majeſty required of them: For if they " were ever ſo ready to do it, yet having " no Cannoes to ferry over to the Iſland, " it was not in their Power to take the " King from thence; and that I believed " if he did not receive them to Mercy " quickly, the far greater part of them " would periſh by Famine."

Account of *Bull-finch Lambe.*

After this his Majeſty fell into a variety of Diſcourſe, and amongſt other things complained of Mr. *Lambe*, (who, as I have related in the beginning of this Book, had been taken Priſoner in the *Ardra* War,) ſaying, " That tho' he had " given him, at his leaving the Court, " three hundred and twenty ounces of

" Gold, with eight Slaves, and made him
" promiſe with a ſolemn Oath to return
" again in a reaſonable time, yet twelve
" Moons had now paſs'd, and he had
" heard nothing from him: Adding, He
" had ſent a black Perſon with him,
" whoſe name was *Tom*, one who had
" been made a Priſoner at the ſame time,
" being a *Jaqueen-man*, who ſpoke good
" *Engliſh*; and this Man he had ordered
" to return again with Mr. *Lambe*, that
" he might be informed, whether what
" that Gentleman had reported concern-
" ing our King, Cuſtoms, and manner of
" Living was true." To this I replied,
" That I had no perſonal Knowledge of
" Mr. *Lambe*, but had been informed,
" before I left *England*, that he went
" from *Whidaw* to *Barbadoes*, which is
" a Plantation where the *Engliſh* employ
" their Slaves in making Sugar, and
" which is at a great diſtance from our
" own Country; But I hoped he would
" prove an honeſt Man, and return again
" to his Majeſty, according to his Pro-
" miſe and Oath."

To this the King replied, " Tho' he " proved not as good as his Word, other " white Men ſhould not fare the worſe " on that account; for as to what he had " given *Lambe*, he valued it not a Ruſh; " but if he returned quickly, and came " with never ſo large a Ship, ſhe ſhould " be inſtantly filled with Slaves, with " which he might do what he thought " proper.

Account of the black Man.

It may not be improper here to give a ſhort account of the *black Man* the King mentioned to me, becauſe he was in *England* laſt year, and the Affair was brought before the Lords of Trade, by whom I was examined about him.

Mr. *Lambe* carried this Perſon to *Barbadoes*, and ſeveral other Places, but at laſt left him with a Gentleman in *Maryland*. Afterwards Mr. *Lambe* trafficked for ſome Years, from one place to another in the *Plantations*; and coming to the Iſland of *Antegoa*, where I had been in the year 1728, and told the foregoing ſtory to ſome Gentlemen, and how kindly the King of *Dahomè* had expreſs'd himſelf with

with regard to the ſaid Mr. *Lambe*, being by them informed of it, this induced him to return to *Maryland*; and the Gentleman who had *Tom* in his Cuſtody was ſo good, as to deliver him again to Mr. *Lambe*, who came with him to *London*, the beginning of the year 1731.

Mr. *Lambe*, ſoon after his arrival, came to ſee me at my houſe, enquiring particularly about what I had related at *Antegoa*; which I confirmed to him. Then he deſired my Advice about his going back to the King of *Dahomè*. To this I frankly anſwered, " It was my opinion, " he had miſs'd the opportunity, by not " returning in a reaſonable time, accor- " ding to his promiſe; ſeveral years be- " ing now paſs'd ſince he came from " thence, and the State of Affairs much " altered for the worſe: Beſides, he " might juſtly fear the King's reſentment, " as Mr. *Teſteſole* had experienced lately " to his coſt, for abuſing his Goodneſs; " for tho' he was Governour for the " *African* Company at *Whidaw*, yet he " had been put to death in a cruel " manner.

On this he left me; and the next news I heard, was, That Mr. *Lambe* had delivered a Letter to his Majesty King *George* as from the King of *Dahomè*, which being referred to the Lords of Trade, the Merchants trading to the Coast of *Guinea* were sent for; and I being ordered to attend, informed their Lordships of what I knew of the matter.

The report from the Lords of Trade was to this Purpose; " That the Letter " in their opinion was not genuine, but " that the *black Man* ought to be taken " care of, and returned to his King:" Accordingly he was put into the hands of the *African* Company, who took care of him for many Months; but he growing impatient, applied to their Graces the Dukes of *Richmond* and *Montague*, who procured him a Passage on board his Majesty's Ship the *Tiger* Captain *Berkeley*, then bound to the Coast of *Guinea*.

Moreover, their Lordships having shewed him great Kindness, most generously sent by him several rare Presents to his King, which, no doubt, will make a good impression

impreſſion on him in favour of our Nation; and I have lately heard, that on his being put on Shore at *Whidaw*, he was forthwith ſent to the King, who was then in his own Country of *Dahomè*, and was received graciouſly by him: That his Majeſty ſent down handſome Preſents for Captain *Berkeley*, but before the Meſſengers got to *Whidaw*, he was ſailed, not having patience to wait ſo many days, as the return from ſo far inland a place required.

I had not made this Digreſſion, but only to ſet this Affair in a true light; and undeceive thoſe that may read this Book, and were ſo far impoſed upon, as to ſuppoſe the *Black Man* to have been an Embaſſador from the King of *Dahomè*, to his Majeſty King *George*. I met with ſeveral that believed ſo, till I ſatisfied them of the contrary; for the jeſt was carried on ſo far, that ſeveral Plays were acted on his Account, and it was advertiſed in the News-Papers, that they were for the Entertainment of Prince *Adomo Oroonoko Tomo, &c.* theſe jingling Names being invented to carry on the Fraud the better. This

This black Perſon was born at *Jaqueen*, and being from a Boy converſant with the *Engliſh* trading there, learned ſo well our Language, that he was employed by them, when grown up, as an Interpreter.

He happen'd to be at *Ardra* on ſome buſineſs, at the time that Country was conquered, and ſo became Priſoner to the King of *Dahomè*. But 'tis time to have done with this Story, and go on where I left off.

After this Diſcourſe concerning Mr. *Lambe* was over, I acquainted the King, that I daily expected another Ship belonging to my Owner, (who had five large Ships that uſed the *Whidaw* Trade in particular) and I hoped his Majeſty would not take more Cuſtom from the Commanders of them, than he had been pleaſed to take of me. To which he anſwered with a Smile, " That it was a " particular Grace to my ſelf. However " when any of them came, they ſhould " be uſed kindly in that matter, and the " Captains might ſtay at *Jaqueen* and

" *Whidaw* as they thought fit, for that " he now was Lord of both places." And then his Majeſty aſked me, " Whether " I would chuſe the Slaves that were " now in the Camp, or have them firſt " ſent down to *Jaqueen*?" To which I anſwered, " I choſe the latter; deſiring " the King would now pleaſe to fix the " Price, with other matters." Accordingly *Zunglar* was called again, to inform his Majeſty, what were the laſt Prices the *Europeans* had paid for Negroes at *Whidaw*, before the Conqueſt: But on my repreſenting, That the Price had been raiſed there, much above what had been cuſtomary, on account of the War; the King moderated it himſelf, and I writ down with my Pencil, in his preſence, every thing agreed on: Amongſt which one was, That I ſhould have three Males to one Female, and take none but what I liked. The reaſon of my mentioning this, is to explain more fully what happened to me afterwards, on account of theſe two Articles.

After

After this was done, the Duke, Brother to the Lord of *Jaqueen*, was ſent for, and the King recommended me to the care of them both, declaring, " If I ſuf-
" fered by their People, either in Perſon or
" Goods, he and his Brother ſhould anſwer
" for it: Moreover, if any Perſon ſtole my
" Goods, and could be taken, his Majeſty
" ordered, they ſhould be impaled alive
" on the Sea ſide, for an Example to the
" Porters, and others that bring our Mer-
" chandiſe from thence to the Town.

By this time it was near nine a clock at night, and the Linguiſt was ordered by the King to tell us, his time of waſhing was come; ſo we roſe up in order to take our leaves, humbly thanking his Majeſty for all his Favours, and for his great Goodneſs towards us, in giving us ſo long an Audience; deſiring he would be pleaſed to permit us to return next day to *Jaqueen:* adding, I hoped God would give him many Days, for the good of his own People, and of the *Europeans* that ſhould come to his Country. The King thanked us for our good Wiſhes,

ſaying,

ſaying, he would diſpatch us the next day, and then we paid our Reſpects, and ſo parted.

As we were almoſt five hours ſo near the King, I had a good opportunity of taking an exact View of him. He was middle-ſized, and full bodied; and, as near as I could judge, about forty five years old: His Face was pitted with the Small Pox; nevertheleſs, there was ſomething in his Countenance very taking, and withal majeſtick. Upon the whole, I found him the moſt extraordinary Man of his Colour, that I had ever converſed with, having ſeen nothing in him that appeared barbarous, except the ſacrificing of his Enemies; which the *Portugueſe* Gentleman told me, he believed was done out of Policy; neither did he eat human Fleſh himſelf.

Being made eaſy in all reſpects by this Audience, we returned to our Tent, and ſpent the evening cheerfully, the *Mulatto Portugueſe*, with ſeveral Courtiers ſupping with us. The next morning we were ſent for again to the King's Gate, and the

Officers

Officers told us, " It being the King's " *Fetiche*-day, his Majeſty could not ſee " us; but that he had ordered them to " preſent us with ſomething in his name; " adding, I might depend on what had " been promiſed me, and that we were " at Liberty to go for *Jaqueen* when we " pleaſed:" Our black Servants had likewiſe handſom Clothes given them to wear about their middle; (according to the cuſtom of the Negroes, who never cover more than that part) with a ſmall ſum of Money to each of them, which made them very jocund, and almoſt forget the fear they had been put in at the ſight of the Sacrifices.

This being over, our ſervants carried the Preſents to our Tent, which conſiſted of Slaves, Cows, Goats and Sheep, with other Proviſions: And then we went to the great Captain's Tent, to take our leave of him. There we found the Duke, who told us, he could not have his Audience of leave from the King till the Evening; and earneſtly deſired us not to go without him; for that he would certainly

tainly accompany us the next Morning to *Jaqueen.* Tho' the *Dutch* Gentlemen and my ſelf were very deſirous of going before, yet we could not in honour leave the Duke; ſo we conſented to ſtay for him, and went to our Tent to Dinner.

In the Afternoon, the Linguiſt came and told us, that the remainder of the Army, who had been plundering the Country of *Tuffoe*, were returning; and aſked us, whether we would go and ſee them paſs by the King's Gate? We went accordingly to that place, and ſoon after they appeared, marching in a much more regular Order than I had ever ſeen before, even amongſt the *Gold Coaſt Negroes*; who were always eſteemed amongſt the *Europeans* that uſed the Coaſt of *Guinea*, the beſt Soldiers of all the Blacks. I obſerved, this Army conſiſted of about three thouſand regular Troops, attended by a Rabble of ten thouſand at leaſt, who carried Baggage, Proviſions, dead Peoples Heads, *&c.* The ſeveral Companies of Soldiers had their proper Colours, and Officers, being armed with Muſquets and

cutting

cutting Swords; and with Shields. As they paſſed by the King's Gate, every Soldier proſtrated himſelf, and kiſſed the Ground; then roſe with ſuch agility, as was very ſurprizing. The place before the King's Gate was four times as large as *Tower Hill*; there they performed their Exerciſes, in the ſight of innumerable Spectators, and fired at leaſt twenty rounds with their ſmall Arms, in leſs than two hours time: Then, by the General's Order, the Soldiers retired to the part of the Camp they belonged to. This ſight was well worth ſeeing even by us *Europeans*.

I took notice, that abundance of Boys followed the Soldiers, and carried their Shields; and aſked the Linguiſt, "What "was the occaſion of it? He told me, That "the King allowed every common Soldier "a Boy at the publick charge, in order to "be trained up in Hardſhips from their "Youth; and that the greateſt part of the "preſent Army conſiſted of Soldiers, bred "up in this manner, and under this Eſta-"bliſhment." By which I judged, it was no wonder the King had made ſo large Conqueſts,

queſts, with ſuch regular Troops, and his Policy together.

After this Sight was over, we went again to the great Captain's, whoſe eldeſt Son had been General in the Expedition againſt the *Tuffoes*. The *Mulatto Portugueſe* Gentleman being then preſent, adviſed us to go and pay our Compliments to this Commander. Accordingly we went, and were received by him with great Civility; and having preſented him with ſome Trifles, wherewith he was highly delighted, we returned to his Father's Tent. After a ſhort ſtay, telling him we were afraid we ſhould not ſet out for *Jaqueen* the next day, he aſſured us we ſhould certainly go the next morning early; and that he would accompany us part of the way: which Promiſe was highly pleaſing to us, for we were quite tired of the Camp: Moreover my Buſineſs very much required my preſence at *Jaqueen*, in order to begin trading. I obſerved in the Great Captain's Tent two black Gentlemen, who had long Gowns on, with a Cloth wreathed about their

Heads,

Heads, like a *Turkiſh* Turbant, and Sandals on their Feet. This being a Dreſs I had never ſeen before amongſt the Negroes, I inquired of the Linguiſt, who they were? He replied, " They were " *Malayes*, which is a Nation far inland, " bordering on the *Moors*; and that theſe " People were equal to the white Men " in one thing, namely in writing: That " at this time there was about forty of " them in the Camp, who had been ta- " ken at ſeveral times in war, as they " traded from one Country to another: " and that the King treated them kindly, " for they had the Art of dying Goat and " Sheep-ſkins with divers Colours, which " they made into Cartouch-boxes for the " Soldiers; and alſo into Bags to hold " looſe powder, and for many other uſes." I was deſirous of diſcourſing with theſe People, but the Linguiſt declined it, ſaying, " It would give offence to the Great " Captain:" So we went from hence to take our leave of the *Mulatto Portugueſe* Gentleman, and afterwards to our Tent to ſupper, and ſlept all night in our Hammocks.

Next

Next Morning we roſe early, and prepared for our Journey. As ſoon as all our things were in order, we ſent the Duke word, that we waited for him. The Meſſenger returned forthwith, and deſired us to go to the great Captain's Tent, where we ſhould find the Duke and his People all ready for going. Accordingly we went, but the Ceremony of taking leave of ſeveral great Men, who came to wiſh us a good Journey, detained us till nine a clock in the Morning: And then we ſet out; the muſical Inſtruments of the *Negroes* making a great noiſe at our Departure. The great Captain, according to his Promiſe, accompanied us for an hour on the Road, and then took his leave under a Salute of Fire-Arms from his Soldiers, and our Servants. Our Hammock-men had no need of being preſs'd to make haſte, and travel faſt: For the Impreſſion made on their Minds by the ſacrificing the poor People of *Tuffoe*, ſtill ſo much affected them, that they ran full ſpeed with us, even beyond their Strength; ſo that by five a clock in the

The Author's return to *Jaqueen*.

Evening, they brought us into *Jaqueen* Town, where the People received us with much Joy, having been under great apprehenſions for our Safety, becauſe we ſtayed longer than was expected.

The next day, being the 15th of *April* 1727, I paid the King of *Dahomè*'s Officers the Cuſtom agreed on; and in two days after, a great many Slaves came to Town, being ſent by his Majeſty for me to chuſe ſuch as I liked of them: Which having done, I offered to pay the Lord of *Jaqueen* his uſual Duties, but he inſiſted on a larger Cuſtom than my Surgeon had agreed for with him at our firſt coming: So I refuſed to pay it, and put him in mind of the Injunction the King of *Dahomè* had ſent him by his Brother. This put him in a Paſſion, and he aſked me ſternly, Whether I deſigned to bring War on him, by informing the Conqueror of what he demanded? This being a tender Point, and hoping Time and Patience might bring him to do me Juſtice, I took my leave of him: For I had been told, it was not poſſible, no more than prudent,

to engage any one to go with a Complaint to the King of *Dahomè*; for the Meſſenger would certainly be murdered on the Road by the *Jaqueens*. Moreover, I was informed, they and their Lord had ſent their beloved Wives and beſt Effects to an Iſland, which is about thirty Miles to the Eaſtward of *Jaqueen* on the Sea-Coaſt, and under the Protection of the King of *Appah*, whoſe Country extends as far as the Bay of *Bennin*. And as they durſt not truſt intirely to the Conqueror's Faith and Promiſes, ſo the Men were always ready to fly there themſelves, on the leaſt appearance of Hoſtility: There they could be in ſafety, the *Dahomes* not having Cannoes to follow them, or if they had, none amongſt them underſtanding the Management of them.

A few days after the Lord of *Jaqueen* had refuſed to take his uſual Cuſtoms, another difficulty aroſe; for the Porters refuſed to bring up my Goods from the Sea ſide, except I would pay them double the price I did at my firſt coming. Thereupon I ſent my Complaint to their Lord,

who acknowledged it was a great Impoſition, but he ſent me word, " It was not " in his Power to oblige thoſe ſort of " People to do me Juſtice; for by the " ſtranding of the *Dutch* Ship, they had " got ſo many Goods, that it had made " them rich and proud; and ſhould he go " about to force them to bring up my " Goods at the uſual rates, they would " forthwith quit the Country, and fly to " *Appah*." Being in theſe melancholy Circumſtances, impoſed on by all hands, and without hopes of redreſs, an accident relieved me very unexpectedly. For a few days after this, the Lord of the place ſent for me; and going to him, he told me, " He had juſt then received Advice, " that an *Engliſh* Ship was arrived in the " Road of *Whidaw*; and he deſired I " would ſend my Boat there, to perſuade " the Captain to come to *Jaqueen*." I anſwered, " I did not doubt but that Ship " was the *Italian* Galley, Captain *Dagge*, " who was known to him; for I had " expected him ſome time, his Ship be- " longing to the ſame Gentleman as

" mine

" mine did: But ſince I had received " ſuch bad uſage from him and his Peo- " ple, he could not expect I would be ſo " imprudent as to adviſe the Captain, " who was in the ſame Intereſt with me, " to come and receive the like Treat- " ment: Adding, If I ſent my Boat, it " ſhould be to deſire Captain *Dagge* to " ſtay at *Whidaw*, and ſend a Meſſenger " to the King of *Dahomè*, to repreſent " the uſage I had met with from him; " tho', to let him ſee how loth I was to " give any Offence that way, I ſhould " intirely forget what was paſt, if he " would make me eaſy." This immediately brought him to do me Juſtice: He took his uſual Cuſtom that very day, and the following went himſelf to the Sea ſide, to the Towns where the Porters lived, and perſuaded them to carry my Goods at the uſual rates.

Soon after this I received a Letter from Captain *Dagge*, deſiring I would let him know how Affairs ſtood at *Jaqueen*. Having informed him of all matters, he concluded, it would be for our Owner's In-

tereſt if he ſtayed at *Whidaw*, where he had great Succeſs; for that People being in a ſtarving Condition, and obliged to ſell their Servants and Children for Money and Goods, to buy Food from their Neighbours of *Popoe*; his Ship was ſoon filled with *Negroes*, and he had the good fortune to ſail from the Coaſt three days before me. Not long after the Arrival of Captain *Dagge*, I was taken ill of a Fever; my Surgeon, a very eminent Man for Trade as well as his Profeſſion, died in a few days after my being taken ill; and the rainy Seaſon coming on, my white People both on board and on Shore grew ſickly; and to add to my Misfortunes, the King of *Dahome*'s Traders began to grow troubleſome and impoſing. Indeed I had one Comfort in this Diſtreſs; namely, that tho' I was two days together without a white Man in the Factory with me, (occaſioned by the Sickneſs) yet I had nothing ſtole from me, which I believe was owing to the ſevere Charge given by the King to the Lord of *Jaqueen* and his Brother, to take care of me and my Goods.

But

But as to the King of *Dahomè*'s Traders, when I objected to them my Agreement with their Maſter, producing the Writing I had made in his Preſence, and calling the Linguiſt to witneſs, that I was not to take any Slaves but ſuch as I liked; yet it ſignified nothing: For tho' the Interpreter was ſo honeſt as to own it, yet he was as impoſing as any other, pretending the King's Orders for what they did. Nay, I began at laſt not to think my ſelf ſafe, one of the Traders being ſo inſolent as to preſent his Fuſil at me, for refuſing to take his bad Slaves. For tho' they came to trade, yet they were always armed with Sword and Dagger, and a Boy carried their Gun for them. Theſe People were far different from the Traders we uſed to deal with at *Whidaw*: For theſe came always in a modeſt manner to deal with us, and tho' ſometimes I owed them Goods on my Notes for ten days together, becauſe the badneſs of the Sea prevented our landing them; yet they ſhewed no Uneaſineſs about it: Whereas, on the contrary, theſe *Dahomè* Traders would

come ten times a day with their Notes; tho' they were ſenſible the Sea was ſo great on the Shore, that we could land no Goods. And when I expoſtulated with them, about the needleſs trouble they gave me and themſelves, in coming ſo often to me to read their Notes; it not being in my Power to pay them, 'till I could get goods landed; they angrily replied, " They did not like a bit of Paper " for their Slaves, becauſe the writing " might vaniſh from it; or elſe the Notes " might be loſt, and then they ſhould " loſe their Payment." Upon that I uſed to ſhew them my Book, telling them their Notes were entered therein, and ſhould they loſe them by any Accident, yet I would pay them by my Book: And as to the writing it would never go off the Paper; but this did no ways ſatisfy them.

About this time ſeveral *Portugueſe* Ships arrived in the Road of *Whidaw*, and ſtay'd there, on a proſpect of the Country's being ſettled again; for the King of *Dahomè* had permitted a great number of the common

common People to return, and they began to build them Houſes near the *Engliſh* and *French* Forts. But ſome time after it appeared, that it was only done to deceive the *Europeans.* However the King of *Dahomè* being deſirous of the *Portugueſe* Gold, which they bring to purchaſe *Negroes* with, his Majeſty ſent a great many Slaves down to *Whidaw*, which made Trade dull with us at *Jaqueen.* For tho' formerly great Numbers came to this place, from other Nations now deſtroyed by the *Dahomes*, there remains at preſent only one Country called *Lucamee*, lying towards the North-Eaſt, for the *Jaqueens* to trade to. Which Nation, by means of a wide River, has eſcaped being made a Conqueſt to the barbarous and cruel *Dahomes.* As I was in this melancholy ſtate, one day, my old Acquaintance the Captain (who had been ſo civil to me at the Camp) came to viſit me; and the Linguiſt not being in the way, I made uſe of a little black Boy, who ſpoke pretty good *Engliſh*, and was entertained by me in the Factory as a Servant, to be my

Interpreter; ordering him to tell the Captain my Grievances, for which he ſeemed concerned. He told me he was a warlike Perſon, and ſo had no Knowledge of the Affairs of the Traders; but he was confident the *Jaqueens* were not tolerated in ſuch things by the King. Then I bid the little Boy further inform him, That the Traders very much impoſed upon the military Gentlemen of his Country, in ſelling them Muſkets bought out of the *French* Factory, for the ſake of a ſmall Preſent. Theſe being made in imitation of *Engliſh* Arms, were ſent to the King, as if bought from me, by which means a bad repute was brought on our Arms; becauſe the *French* Guns ſplit in firing, and hurt the Soldiers; which is owing to their not being proved as ours are, with a good load of Gunpowder, before they are put into a Stock and finiſhed. I obſerved, this very much moved him, ſo I made him a Preſent of ſome things, with a promiſe of a greater Reward, if he would go to the King, and let his Majeſty know my Complaints. So

having

having considered the matter a little while, he agreed to go, charging the little Boy to keep the thing secret, on pain of being put to cruel Torments if he divulged it; and I soon after experienced the good Effects of his Journey.

The People of *Jaqueen*, as I mentioned before, were in very uneasy Circumstances. The King of *Dahomè* being informed of it, resolved to send the great Captain to their Lord, to settle all things to their Satisfaction. The Captain my Friend being got to the Camp before the Great Captain set out, and acquainting the King with my Complaints, it much incensed him against the Traders, and he caused the great Captain to go forthwith to *Jaqueen*, to settle all matters. He made such haste, that he brought the first news of his coming himself; and because he had a great Retinue, on the first report of his arrival, the Inhabitants of *Jaqueen* were going to fly to *Appah*; believing he was come in a hostile manner: But he soon made them easy, ordering the far greater part of his People to remain on the other side

ſide of the River, which runs on the back part of the Town; and he came only with one hundred Attendants into the place. Upon the firſt notice of his coming, the Duke, Brother to the Lord of *Jaqueen*, went to receive him; and all the white Gentlemen in the Town, both Merchants and Commanders of Ships, aſſembled at the Door of the *Dutch* Factory, to ſalute him as he paſs'd by that Houſe. He was conducted to the Duke's Court, with all the Honours the place could poſſibly afford. His Retinue was lodged near my Factory, which proved a great diſturbance to me; for they made a diſmal noiſe with their muſical Inſtruments, both night and day; but on my complaining of it, they were afterwards removed.

It ſeems the Great Captain, at his firſt coming into the Town, had given orders to ſome of his Officers, to ſeize all the *Dahomè* Traders. But by means of ſome Friend they had in their Retinue, notice was given them; whereupon ſeveral of them fled. However, about ten were ſeized,

ſeized, and immediately ſent in Irons to the King: And the Duke, brother to the Lord of *Jaqueen*, told me afterwards, " That when the Great Captain began " to talk of Buſineſs with him, the firſt " Queſtion he aſked, was, Whether the " Traders had uſed me ill? To which he " replied in the affirmative; Adding, He " was in my Factory, when one of them " preſented his Piece at me, becauſe I " refuſed to buy the bad Slaves brought " by him." The great Captain upon that aſked him, " Why he ſuffered me to be ſo uſed? To which the Duke anſwered, " That not only he himſelf, but his Bro- " ther, had been treated by them with " great Inſolence; and that they were " afraid to reſent it, for fear they ſhould " repreſent their Actions in a bad Light " to the King." On this account the Great Captain ſaid, they had talked enough upon that Point.

We underſtood afterwards, that this great Man, at his return to the King, acquainting him with the Miſbehaviour of the Traders, his Majeſty ordered the Per-

ſon

ſon who preſented his Piece at me, to be beheaded, with another, who had highly inſulted me at the ſame time: And the others were kept in bonds, fed only with Bread and Water; and whenever it rained, they were put out into the Priſon Court, and expoſed till it had done raining. By this I found, that the Traders and the Linguiſt had ſhamefully belied the King; however, in Prudence I did not think fit to complain of the Interpreter, but only chid him in private; at which he was ſo frighted, that he left me, when the great Captain returned to their King.

The next day after this Great Man's arrival, all the white Gentlemen in the place went to wait on him at the Duke's Houſe, carrying him Preſents; and I went amongſt the reſt. Upon my taking leave, I invited him to dine with me at my Factory the next day. He came accordingly with many Attendants, one of whom he admitted with the Duke, to ſit at Table with us. He ſeemed to be much pleaſed with the Victuals, eſpecially with a Ham; and was much ſurprized when I told him,

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it was part of a Hog that had been killed ſix Months ago. I was ſo much diverted to ſee him handle a Fork, which it ſeems he had never uſed before, that I could hardly keep my Countenance, ſo awkwardly did he manage it. Amongſt other diſhes there was brought to the Table a Pye of minced meat. Of this he eat greedily, aſking me, "How it was pre-"pared?" I told him the manner; ad-"ding it was done by my Wife, and be-"ing put up in earthen Pans, it would "keep in ſo hot a Country as this was, "for ſix Months at leaſt." He then aſk-me, How many Wives I had? "I told him "we were allowed by our Laws but one; on which he fell a laughing, ſaying, "He had five hundred, and wiſhed fifty "of them could prepare ſuch meat for "him as mine had done." After this the Servants brought *Bananas*, with other Fruit of the Country, on *Delft* Plates. Theſe Plates he was much taken with, and deſired I would give him that he eat on, with the Knife, Fork, and Napkin he uſed. I told him he was welcome to

all

all on the Table: Of which the Linguiſt had no ſooner informed him, but he ſpoke to his Servants, and they immediately ſwept all away, ſo ſuddenly, that they had like to have broke all the Plates, but they luckily eſcaped. I put on a good Face on the matter, tho' I was ſomething ſurprized to be ſo ſoon taken at my word, with the manner of it; ſo I ſaid to him, "I would preſent him further with ſome "Mugs and Cups, which I called for."

I had almoſt forgot to relate another Circumſtance, full as odd as this. When we firſt ſat down to dinner, ſome of his principal Servants who ſtood behind his Chair, would every now and then ſnatch off his Plate, a Slice of Ham or Fowl; and obſerving he did not rebuke them for it, I bid the Linguiſt tell him, "His Ser-"vants ſhould not want for Victuals af-"ter we had dined; for it was not the "white Peoples cuſtom, to let their "Gueſts Attendants go home hungry;" ſo he ordered them to be quiet for the future.

After

After dinner we drank both our Kings healths, and he grew very merry, preferring Punch to other Liquors. When he took his leave of me in the Evening, he expreſs'd great Satisfaction at his Entertainment: Moreover he told me, "He "deſign'd to go and ſee the Sea the next "day, (which was about three Miles "off) and as he had never yet ſeen it, "nor a Ship, he ſhould be glad of my "Company." But I was obliged to excuſe my ſelf, on account of my late Illneſs, from which I was not perfectly recovered. So I told him, "I would "order my Officer in the Tent, to enter-"tain him in the beſt manner he could; "and if he would be pleaſed to go on "board my Ship to ſee her, all poſſible "Care ſhould be taken of him.

I muſt now leave this great Man for a while, and give an Account of a remarkable thing that happen'd whilſt he was at the Sea ſide. For the right underſtanding of it, the Reader is to know, That a few days before the great Captain came to *Jaqueen*, the Linguiſt brought me two

Female *Negroes*, ſaying, " The King de-
" ſired, I would buy them, and promiſe
" I would not let them be redeemed by
" any one that ſhould offer to do it:"
After I had viewed theſe Women, one of
which was turned of fifty, and the other
about twenty Years old, I told the Lin-
guiſt, " The firſt was paſt her Labour,
" and not for my purpoſe; but I would
" buy the other." He replied, " He
" could not part them; adding, It would
" highly oblige the King if I took them
" both:" But ſuſpecting he made uſe of
the King's Name, to get rid of an old
Woman, I refuſed it, and he carried them
away. I little ſuſpected then what would
happen to this poor Creature, which I
ſhall preſently relate.

The great Captain, as he had told me,
went the next day to the Sea ſide, accom-
panied by abundance of People who came
from the inland Country, which indeed
they daily did in great Numbers, to ſee
ſo rare a ſight, now the ways were open
to them. There lay then at Anchor, in
the Road of *Jaqueen*, the *Katherine* Gal-
ley

ley which I commanded, being a fine Ship of near three hundred Tuns burthen; and two *Portugueſe* Veſſels. This ſight exceedingly ſurprized him, as well as did the Sea, which came rolling and roaring with its Billows on the Shore; ſo that he ſtood for ſome time fixed as if he had been a Statue, till he heard the Guns fired from the *Katherine*, wherewith I had ordered him to be ſaluted, on a ſignal made from our Tent. Being by the Noiſe of the Guns rouſed out of his Aſtoniſhment, my Officer then invited him to go to the Tent to dinner, which he readily accepted. Whilſt he was at dinner, he could not ſit ſtill three minutes together, his Curioſity ſtill prompting him to go and look on the Sea and Ships.

As the Water near the Shore is very ſhallow, our Boats cannot approach nearer than within two Cables length, ſo that we are obliged to make uſe of *Cannoes*, which draw much leſs Water than our Boats, to land our Goods: And alſo the freſh Water for the Ship's uſe, is rafted

in Caſks by Ropes from the Boats. The great Man was ſo pleaſed with the ſight, that he went too near the Sea to ſee it; in which inſtant a Wave coming with great force, reached him ſo, that with the ſurprize he fell on his back; by which Accident ſome ſalt Water got into his Stomach. His Servants ſeeing him fall, immediately run to his Aſſiſtance; and taking him up, carried him to our Tent, where he drank half a pint of Brandy, to qualify the ſalt Water he had ſwallowed down. Tho' he had met with this miſchance, he ſtay'd at the Tent till the Evening, and then left the place with reluctance, to come to Town; ſo much delighted was he with this ſight. It was about nine a clock at night when he returned to *Jaqueen*, being uſher'd in with the hideous noiſe of their muſical Inſtruments, and the Acclamations of the People.

Soon after, one of his principal Servants, together with the Linguiſt, came to me, ſaying, " The Great Man had ſent them " to return me thanks for the kind Enter-

" tainment

" tainment he had received at my Tent;
" that he deſigned to ſet out next day
" for the King's Camp, and ſhould be
" glad to ſee me before he went."

The Servant being gone, the Linguiſt told me in private, " That the oldeſt " Woman whom I had refuſed to buy, " had that day been ſacrificed to the Sea, " by order of the great Captain. For " ſhe had highly offended the King, " and as I would not take her, his Ma- " jeſty had ordered her to be deſtroyed " this way, in the room of another Victim " that was deſigned for the ſame Purpoſe." I aſked him, What Crimes ſhe had committed? He replied haſtily, " Did I think " he knew the King's Secrets? adding, " She had lived a long time in the Court, " with good Repute till now." I then wiſh'd in my mind I had bought her; but only ſaid to the Linguiſt, " I won- " dered he ſhould have a hand in ſuch " Cruelty, having been bred up amongſt " white People. To which he anſwered, " Great Mens Commands were not " to be diſputed, eſpecially there being

" no one but himſelf of the *Dahomes*,
" that durſt go off in a Cannoe with her."
Whereupon he told me the following Story; " The Woman's Hands being tied
" behind her, and her Feet acroſs, ſhe
" was put into the *Cannoe*, and carried
" off about half a Mile from the
" Shore: And then he ordered the Row-
" ers to throw her over board; which
" they had no ſooner done, but he ſaw
" ſome Sharks (voracious Fiſhes very
" common in thoſe Seas) tear her to pie-
" ces in an inſtant." On hearing this Account I pitied the Fate of this poor Creature, for I intirely credited the Story, knowing full well the Barbarity of thoſe People. But the next day I was greatly ſurprized, with a Letter from my chief Mate, informing me, that the Woman was on board our Ship: Which happened in this manner. It ſeems, neither my People at the Tent, nor thoſe in our Boats, which lay at the Moorings near the Shore, knew any thing of the real occaſion of the Cannoe's going off. For the Woman was put very privately into the

Cannoe,

Cannoe. They only thought the Linguiſt was gone, with a deſign to ſee ſome of the Ships. When he came on ſhore again, one of our Boats went juſt then from the Moorings, in order to go on board our Ship. Being got about half way, the Officer in the Boat ſpied ſomething floating on the Sea, which at his coming nearer, he perceived to be a human Body lying on its back; and now and then ſpurting Water out at the Mouth. This ſhowing it was ſtill living, he ordered it to be taken into the Boat, being bound in the ſame manner as the Linguiſt had told me. Immediately they untied this poor Woman, chafed her Limbs, and rolled her Body about, whereupon ſhe diſcharged a good quantity of ſalt Water out of her Mouth. Then they carried her on board the Ship, not knowing in the leaſt the occaſion of her being in the Sea, and extremely wondering ſhe had eſcaped the Sharks, who are uſually ſo voracious, that when a dead Perſon is thrown overboard, or a living one falls into the Sea by Accident, they are in an inſtant torn to pieces

by thoſe voracious Animals. So that this poor Creature ſeemed to have a miraculous Eſcape; and the knowledge of the greedineſs of theſe Sharks, I ſuppoſe, induced the Linguiſt to tell me, that he actually ſaw her torn to pieces; verily believing it would ſo happen, which his Fears would not let him ſtay to ſee, on account of the great ſwell the Billows of the Sea had at that time.

Upon my receiving the abovementioned account from the Mate, tho' pleas'd with the ſafety of the poor Woman, yet it filled me with Apprehenſions, if the King of *Dahomè* ſhould come to know it: For he might pretend, his *Fetiche*, or God, being diſappointed of this Sacrifice by us, would revenge it on me, or at leaſt oblige me to make up the Affair with large Preſents. So having conſidered of the matter, I writ to the chief Mate, to charge our People to keep the thing ſecret; it being of the utmoſt Conſequence to us all to do it: Which they accordingly did. Some time after, going on board the Ship, I examined this Wo-

man by the Linguiſt, but ſhe would never confeſs the reaſon of the King's diſpleaſure againſt her; alledging ſhe knew not that ſhe had in any reſpect offended him. However, I found by the Linguiſt, that he ſuſpected, it was on account of her aſſiſting ſome of the King's Women in their Amours.

This Woman being a ſenſible Perſon, did us good ſervice in the Voyage. For ſhe was known to ſeveral of the Negroes on board, and by her talking to and adviſing them, made them eaſy in their Minds: She obſerved to them, amongſt other things, " That as we had ſhown " ſuch Kindneſs to her, firſt in ſaving her " Life, and ſince in taking care of her, " who might be reckoned an uſeleſs Per- " ſon to us, on account of her Age; ſo " they had all the reaſon in the World " to believe we were much better people " than their own Countrymen; and that " the ſtrange Stories they had been for- " merly told of white People, muſt be " falſe." The female *Negroes*, who uſed always to be the moſt troubleſome to us,

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on account of the noiſe and clamour they made, were kept in ſuch Order and Decorum by this Woman, that I had never the like in any Voyage before: And when I came to *Antegoa*, *Charles Dunbar* Eſq; Surveyor General of *Barbadoes*, and the *Leeward Iſlands*, on my Recommendation, bought her, and I was not a little pleaſed ſhe had got ſo generous and good a Maſter.

But to return again to the great Captain: When he was ready to depart from *Jaqueen*, all the *Europeans* in the Place waited on him to the ſide of the River, that runs on the back part of the Town. Upon taking leave I told him, " I wanted " but eighty *Negroes* to compleat my Car- " go," and he promiſed he would acquaint the King with it; and I might be ſure his Majeſty would ſend them down to me forthwith. However, this did not happen according to my Expectation; for I underſtood afterwards the King had no Slaves by him for ſale, tho' he had great numbers of captive *Negroes*, which tilled his Grounds, and did other Work. For,

it

it ſeems, after they are once inrolled for that Service, his Majeſty never ſells them, unleſs they are guilty of very great Crimes.

After the great Captain's departure, I was obliged to wait a long while for a diſpatch; at laſt the deſired Time came, and the King's Factors that brought the *Negroes* behaved themſelves ſo well towards me, that I had no reaſon to complain of them. The principal amongſt them told me, "The King was much ſurprized, "that I had not been diſpatch'd before; "and that his Majeſty had puniſhed thoſe "ſeverely, who had been the occaſion "of my long ſtay at *Jaqueen:* That if "my Affairs would admit of my going "to the Camp, the King was deſirous "to ſee me again there, to diſcourſe, and "ſettle Matters, for the mutual Intereſt "of himſelf, and the *Europeans* trading "to his Country; for when I was with "him before, the great Hurry of Affairs "his Majeſty had then on his Hands, did "not allow him ſufficient time to talk of "Buſineſs." I deſired the Gentleman to

return

return the King my due Acknowledgments for all his Favours; " and that I " ſhould have been very glad and ready " to have waited again on his Majeſty at " the Camp: But the bad ſtate of health " I was then in, did not allow it; of " which himſelf being an Eye-Witneſs, " I deſired he would be pleaſed to in- " form the King of it: Adding, I ſhould " not fail, on my arrival into *England*, " to tell my Countrymen who trade to " this place, how great and generous a " Prince I had been entertained by; hop- " ing (if God bleſs'd me) to return again " in a twelvemonth at fartheſt." So having made the Traders ſome ſmall Preſents, they took their Leaves, returning many thanks for what I had given them.

As ſoon as I had finiſhed my Affairs with theſe People, I waited on the Lord of *Jaqueen*, and told him, " That hav- " ing compleated my Ship's Cargoe of " *Negroes*, I deſign'd to go on board in " two days time, deſiring he would be " pleaſed to pay me the ballance of an " account that was between us." This

he

he readily promiſed, but never performed it. Moreover, the next day, having paid his Brother the reſt of the Cuſtoms, and my Servants their Wages, my Store-houſe was ſoon after plundered in a violent manner: But, by good fortune, there were in it, only things of ſmall value. I complained of this Uſage, but had no Redreſs. However, I did not think proper to threaten, as I had formerly done, " That I " would inform the King of *Dahomè* of " it;" but quietly putting up the Affront, I went to the Sea ſide the next day, where I was obliged to lie all night in our Tent, becauſe the Sea ran high on the Shore; but the next morning it being calmer, I got on board to my great Satisfaction, having, through the goodneſs of Providence, compleated my Affairs, much beyond my Expectation, conſidering I had ſo melancholy a Proſpect, when I firſt came to this Country.

The firſt of *July* 1727, we ſailed from the Road of *Jaqueen*, having on board above 600 *Negroes*. I had a tedious Paſſage to the *Weſt-Indies* of ſeventeen Weeks, which

which obliged us to ſtop at ſeveral places for Water and Proviſion. But at length we arrived at *Antegoa*, where the Cargo of *Negroes* (who had ſtood very well) came to a good Market: And having lain there for a Cargo of Sugars, we ſailed from thence the latter end of *February*, and got ſafe into the River of *Thames*, the 25th of *April* 1728, having been ſixteen Months on this remarkable VOYAGE.

A

SUPPLEMENT,

Containing an Account of what happened to the King and People of Whidaw, *and the* Dahomes, *ſince I came away from thence, to the Time of my return thither in the Month of* February 1729-30. *All which I was informed of, by ſome white Gentlemen of good Credit, who reſided at* Jaqueen *all the Time I was abſent.*

UPON my coming to *England*, being in a bad State of Health, I deſired leave of my Owner to ſtay at home a Seaſon, which he was pleaſed to grant me; and appointed Captain *John Dagge* to command the Ship I had been in. He made a ſucceſsful Voyage, and returned with her in the Month

of *Auguſt* 1729: As I was by that time very well recovered, my Owner was pleaſed to ſend me again to the Coaſt of *Guinea* in the *Katherine Galley*. Having therefore ſpent ſome time on the *Windward* and *Gold Coaſt*, I proceeded for *Whidaw*. In my way to that place I ſtop'd at *Great Popoe*, which lies a few Leagues to the Windward of *Whidaw*. Being informed there, that the late King of *Whidaw* was near that place, with *Captain Oſſue*, one of his principal Cabociers or Lords, on two barren ſandy Iſlands, with many other People, I ſent my firſt Mate on Shore with a Preſent to each of them. He returned at night, with ſome of the King's People, who brought me a Goat from him: Saying, "Their Maſter be-"ing in a poor Condition, had nothing "better to ſend me." And they having bought ſome few things, I ſent them on Shore again. After they were gone, my Mate gave me the following account, "That the King and Captain *Oſſue*, had "with them many Thouſands of People, "who lived in a miſerable manner, the

Iſlands

Iſlands they were on being ſo barren, that they produced nothing: But by means of the River which ſeparated them from the Continent, they were very well ſecured from the *Dahomes* Power; who not underſtanding the Management of *Cannoes*, could not invade them. Moreover, they had planted ſeveral great Guns, which ſecured the Paſſes, ſo that they were in no fear of the Enemies. But then, on the other hand, they could not ſow Corn, or other Pulſe in that barren place, but were ſupplied with what they wanted by their Neighbours of *Great* and *Little Popoe*. However, this conſtantly decreaſed their Numbers, they being obliged to ſell their Wives, Children, and Servants for Proviſions and other neceſſaries, becauſe they had no Money left.

From *Great Popoe* I went to the Road of *Whidaw*, where being informed there was little Trade, I proceeded for *Jaqueen*, which is ſeven Leagues to the Eaſtward of it; and anchored in that road the 20th of *February* 1729-30: At my going on Shore there, the King of *Dahome*'s Agent

came to ſee me; and upon my enquiring after his Maſter's welfare, he told me, " He would ſend a Meſſenger " to inform his Majeſty of my Arrival: " But as the King was then in his own " Country, far inland, it would be at " leaſt twenty days before he could have " an Anſwer." At his taking leave, he promiſed to let me know his Maſter's Pleaſure on the return of the Meſſenger. Accordingly he came to ſee me again, about three weeks after his former viſit, and told me, " The King was very glad " to hear of my being once more arrived " at *Jaqueen*; but as he was then far " within Land, tho' he was deſirous of " ſeeing me again, yet he could not in " reaſon require it: His Maſter being " ſenſible, ſuch a long Journey would be " neither ſafe for my Health, nor ſuit- " able to my Buſineſs; but in caſe the " King came to *Ardra*, whilſt I was at *Ja-* " *queen*, which is but two days journey " off, and where I had formerly been " with his Majeſty, he ſhould be very " glad to ſee me there once more." However,

ever, this not happening, I had not the Fortune to ſee the King a ſecond time.

I now come to relate what I heard from ſeveral white Gentlemen reſiding at *Jaqueen*, ever ſince my former Voyage, concerning the *Whidaws* and the *Dahomes*. The King of *Whidaw*, with abundance of his People, having fled to the Iſlands formerly mentioned, the King of *Dahomè* was diſappointed in his deſign of deſtroying him, as he had always intended. So that he contented himſelf with keeping Poſſeſſion of the Country of *Whidaw*, by an Army encamp'd at *Sabee*, which had been the principal place of the Kingdom, till deſtroyed by him. But in time this Army being much diminiſhed, it incouraged Captain *Oſſue* to leave the Iſlands, and ſettle himſelf, with many of his People, near the *French* Fort, which is about four Miles from *Sabee*; believing the great Guns therein would be a ſufficient Protection from the *Dahomes*, in caſe they ſhould offer to diſturb him. This Fort had a dry Ditch, with mud Walls made of the Earth that was dug out of it; and was a ſquare

place with Towers at each Corner, on which were mounted ſeveral Cannons, and their Lodgings, Storehouſes, and even their Magazine of Gunpowder, were covered with Ruſhes, according to the Cuſtom of that Country; which occaſioned a terrible Misfortune, as ſhall be immediately related.

The King of *Dahomè* being informed of Captain *Oſſue*'s return into his Country, reſolved to ſend an Army to drive him out; which the other having notice of, retired with many of his People into the *French* Fort: *Oſſue* little thinking at that time, that the Governor was the occaſion of his Enemies coming in order to betray them.

The next day after he and his People were received into the Fort, the *Dahomè* Army came down, and being informed the *French* had given them Protection, contrary to a ſecret Promiſe their King had received from the Governor, they aſſaulted the Fort. But having nothing but ſmall Arms to make their Attack, it would have availed little, had not the

Thatch

Thatch of the Houſes within the Fort taken Fire. This Accident alarmed the white Men, who knowing there was a great quantity of Gunpowder in their Magazine, and no poſſibility of ſtopping the Fire, fled to the *Engliſh* Fort, which was within Muſquet-Shot of their own, and ſo ſaved themſelves: But the black People not being ſo ſenſible of their Danger, ſuffered very much by the blowing up of the Magazine, there being above one thouſand of them killed, beſides many wounded by this Accident. However, in the Confuſion, and under cover of the Smoke, Captain *Oſſue*, and ſeveral of his People, eſcaped to the *Engliſh* Fort: Where Governor *Wilſon*, who then reſided there for the *African* Company, generouſly gave them Protection; and to prevent Accidents, ordered immediately all the Houſes in the Fort to be unthatch'd, and by firing on the *Dahomes* with his Cannon, killed ſeveral, and kept the reſt at a diſtance.

The *Dahomes* having taken the *French* Fort, ſheltered themſelves therein; and

the next morning ſent a principal Man amongſt them to Governor *Wilſon*, to know the reaſon why he had fired on their Army. To which he anſwered, " That " they having come down out of the " Country in a hoſtile manner, without " giving him the leaſt notice, and attack- " ed his Neighbours the *French*, he looked " on it as the common Cauſe of all the " *Europeans* ſettled there, who were " bound to aſſiſt one another." To this the *Dahomes* replied, " That when they " came down, they had no deſign to at- " tack the *French* Fort, for the King had " no quarrel with the white Men: But the " Governor having taken Captain *Oſſue* " and his People into the *French* Fort, " contrary to his Promiſe, it obliged them " to act as they had done. At the ſame time they told the Governor to his Face, " That he had firſt ſent to their King by " a *French* Surgeon, then reſiding with " their Maſter, to perſuade his Majeſty to " ſend an Army down, to deſtroy Cap- " tain *Oſſue* and his People; promiſing

" at

" at the ſame time he would give them " no Protection. "This the *French* Governor denied, but all that were preſent believed it to be too true; and by this means he let the *Dahomes* ſee, that white Men (whom they had before a high opinion of) could be the baſeſt of Villains, when their Intereſt tempted them thereto. For it was much ſuſpected, that the Governour had contrived the whole Affair, in order to ſqueeze a large Sum of Money from Captain *Oſſue* to protect him, and for ſome other infamous Views. However, he met afterwards with a ſuitable Reward, being killed by the *Whidaws*, whom he had ſo much injured.

As ſoon as the King of *Dahomè* was informed of the taking of the *French* Fort, he ſent this Meſſage to the *French* Governor; " that he had brought this " Misfortune on himſelf by his Perfidy, " for he had no quarrel to his Nation; " therefore he would order his Soldiers " to repair the Fort, which had been " greatly damaged by the Powder: Or if " he did not deſire this, he might depart

" with all the *Frenchmen* to his own " Country." After this, the Ships that lay then in the Road of *Whidaw* had good Trade for Women and Children, which the *Dahomes* had taken of Captain *Offue*'s People, but there were few Men taken; many of them being loſt when the Magazine blew up: and the reſt having fled to the Iſland which their King was in.

I come now to relate a great Misfortune which befel the *Dahomes*, ſome Months after they had taken the *French* Fort. For the better underſtanding of it, the Reader is to know, that the King of *Dahomè* having conquered ſeveral Countries within a few Years, and depopulated them; the King of *Weemey*'s Sons, with other Princes, (whoſe Fathers this Conqueror had taken in War, and beheaded) fled to a far Inland Potent Nation called the *J-oes*. The King of *Whidaw* having, after *Offue*'s Defeat, found means to ſend Meſſengers to the King of this Country, they, and the others that had fled to him for Protection, did at laſt, through their earneſt Sollicitations, obtain

tain an Army to march againſt the King of *Dahomè*, whom they all look'd upon as a moſt cruel Deſtroyer of Mankind. This Nation of *J-oe* fight all on Horſeback, and living a great way on the North towards *Nubia*, they can at no other time march to the Southward, but when the Seaſon for Forage, and the dry Weather ſets in. The King of *Dahomè* had notice of their coming, a few days before they reached his Country; and he having formerly experienced how terrible ſuch Numbers of Horſe had been to his Army, which conſiſts of none but foot Soldiers; he reſolved to bury his Riches, burn his Towns, and then fly into the Woods and Thickets with his People; which is a common thing amongſt the *Negroes*, for the weaker ſide to do, when at War; for they have no fortified Towns as in *Europe*: So they that are Maſters of the Field command the Country far and near.

The King of *Dahomè* having thus in time provided for his Safety by Flight, the *J-oes* were diſappointed: But one *Appragah* and his People, formerly ſubject

ject to the King of *Whidaw*, but now under the Dominion of the *Dahomes*, did not escape so well. For not moving so soon by two days as they did, the *J-oes* came up with him and his People, and took abundance of them, with all *Appragah*'s Riches; and he himself was hardly put to it to escape, with a few of his Servants.

After this the *J-oes* marched on in quest of the *Dahomes*, but finding they were got into the thick Woods and Bushes, they incamped near them; making frequent Assaults, and often taking some of the *Dahomes* Prisoners. At last, they so distressed them, that for want of other Provision, they were obliged to eat many of their own Slaves. Yet the *Dahomes* patiently endured these Calamities, knowing the *J-oes* would be obliged to retire in a little time, on account of the rainy Season that was approaching, and for want of Forage: Accordingly they were obliged to retire soon after; and the *Dahomes* then returned to their own Country, and rebuilt their Towns again.

During these Misfortunes of the *Da-*

homes, which laſted ſeveral Months, various Reports came to *Whidaw*. Sometimes it was ſaid, " That the King of " *Dahome* was killed:" But that was again contradicted: And it was reported, " he had " loſt ſo many of his People, that he never " could be again in a Condition to diſturb " his Neighbours;" and this was ſo currently believed that no one doubted of it.

About this time, which was in the beginning of *July* 1729, Governor *Wilſon* departed from *Whidaw*, in order to return to *England*. He left in his room one Mr. *Teſteſole*, who had reſided there many Years, but was no ways equal to him in Prudence and Conduct, as his unhappy Fate will afterwards ſhow. For tho' this Perſon had been often at the King of *Dahome*'s Camp, where he was always uſed with great Civility, yet now believing that King was ſo far reduced, that the People of *Whidaw* had nothing more to fear from him; he too haſtily adviſed their King, to leave the barren Iſlands wherein he had fled with his People, and come and take again Poſſeſſion of his Country. Here-

Hereupon the King of *Whidaw* reſolved to return; and, to provide againſt the worſt, he deſired his Neighbours of *Popoe* to lend him ſome of their Forces; which they readily did. For theſe People, with all the *Coaſt-Negroes*, mortally hate the *Dahomes*, on account of their Cruelty, and their Barbarity in eating human Fleſh. And, beſides that the *Popoes* are little afraid of the *Dahomes* Power, becauſe they live in Iſlands, they now aſſiſted the *Whidaws* out of Policy; thinking, if they were reinſtated in their Country, Trade would ſoon revive, which had been ſo long interrupted on account of the War. So they ſent them ſome thouſands of their People; and at their Arrival the King of *Whidaw* joined them with his Forces. Tho' he was a very fat unwieldy Man, yet he marched at the head of his Army, which conſiſted of about fifteen thouſand Men, including the *Popoes*, and incamped in his own Country for ſome time, near the *Engliſh* and *French* Forts. This the *Dahomes* knew nothing of; for they had ſo mean an opinion of the *Whidaws*, that

they never thought they would attempt to ſettle again in their own Country: Neither had they, ſince the departure of the *J-oes*, ſent any of their People to the Sea ſide, having been employed in repairing their Towns, and about other Affairs. Theſe being near finiſhed, the King of *Dahomè* ſent ſome of his Traders down with Slaves, to the *Engliſh* and *French* Forts: But his People were much ſurpriſed to ſee ſuch an Army of *Whidaws* incamped near them. So they returned in great haſte to inform their King, who upon the receipt of this News, was greatly embaraſſed; for he had loſt many of his beſt Soldiers whilſt the *J-oes* remained in his Country, and kept him ſo long in the Buſhes. Moreover, his Majeſty had lately ſent an Army into the inland Country, to take Slaves: For as I have formerly obſerved, he drives no regular Trade in Slaves, but only ſells ſuch as he takes in his Wars.

Being in this State of Perplexity (when he had not a ſufficient Number of Soldiers

diers to encounter the *Whidaws* and *Popoes* together, and, on the other hand, could not bear to ſee himſelf braved by ſuch a cowardly Race as the *Whidaws*.) his Policy extricated him out of this Difficulty. He ordered a great number of Women to be armed like Soldiers, and appointed Officers to each Company, with Colours, Drums and Umbrellas, according to the *Negroe* Faſhion. Then ordering the Army to march, the Women Soldiers were placed in the Rear, to prevent Diſcovery. When they came in ſight of the *Whidaw* Army, the latter were much ſurprized to ſee ſuch Numbers of *Dahomè* Soldiers, as they ſuppoſed them all to be, marching againſt them: For they had much depended on the former Reports, that they were ſo far reduced, as not to be able (at leaſt ſo ſoon) to have made Head againſt them. At this unexpected ſight the *Whidaws* were divided: Some were for retiring back to the Iſlands; but others who were commanded by Captain *Oſſue*, with the *Popoes*, were for fighting. During this Diſpute, the

Dahomè

Dahomè Army marched on boldly, and Captain *Oſſue*, with the *Popoe* General, as bravely advanced to meet them; and attacked their right Wing ſo briſkly, that they drove them for ſome time before them. But the *Whidaws* who were with the King, at that inſtant cowardly fled; tho'his Majeſty uſed his utmoſt endeavours and Intreaties to ſtop them, and at laſt wounded ſeveral with his Lance, to oblige them to ſecond Captain *Oſſue*'s People: But all in vain. This being obſerved by the left Wing of the *Dahomes*, they fell on the Rear of *Oſſue*'s Soldiers, and ſoon obliged them and the *Popoes*, to fly in their turn; which the King of *Whidaw* perceiving, and being ſo very unwieldy and fat, he had no other way to ſave his Life, but to fly into the dry Ditch of the *Engliſh* Fort; where, by the help of two of his Sons, his Majeſty got over the Wall, and ſo eſcaped the fury of his Enemies: But many of his People were killed, and others taken.

Mr. *Teſteſole*, the Governor, was at a great loſs how to act on this occaſion.

For

For he foreſaw the *Dahomes* would demand the King, and inſiſt on his being delivered to them, as ſoon as they ſhould know he was in the Fort. Which if he refuſed to do, he was ſenſible, they could oblige him in time to do it, by ſtarving him. Moreover, he could not but ſuſtain a great loſs by the Interruption of Trade. So the Governor perſuaded the King to leave the Fort that Night, and he happily eſcaped to his barren Iſlands again. However, the King of *Dahomè* was afterwards fully informed of all this, and likewiſe that the Governor had been the principal occaſion of the *Whidaws* endeavouring to regain their Country: Which he highly reſented.

The *Dahomes*, after this, retired from about the Forts, and, leaving a ſmall Army at *Sabee*, returned to their own Country; where many Banditti of other Nations reſorting to them, their King, in a few Months, found his Strength and Power as much increaſed, as when he fled from the *J-oes*. But the Countries being laid waſte far and near by his former Wars, tho' he

he has large Territories of many hundred Miles, and as fine a Country under his Dominion, as any in the Southern Parts of *Africa*; yet he is only a great King in name for want of Subjects, by reaſon of his having deſtroyed in ſo cruel a manner the Inhabitants of all the Places he has conquered. This has obliged many hundred thouſands to fly from his Arms, into foreign Countries; that are by Situation ſecured from his rambling Bands, either by great Rivers, Mountains or Lakes.

He has acted ſince as impolitick a part in another matter. For he gave his word to a great number of the former Inhabitants, If they would return again into their own Country, they ſhould quietly enjoy it, upon paying a certain Tribute. On this many thouſands returned into the Kingdom of *Ardra*, where they built Houſes, ſowed Corn, and planted Potatoes; but no ſooner were theſe poor People ſettled, than the *Dahomes* ſurprized them, and killed or took captive all that could not eſcape from them. The King

having thus broken his promiſe, I believe no others will ever venture to truſt him: And the Country, in all Probability, will remain uninhabited, during his Life: Moreover, by this means the Trade at *Whidaw* is almoſt ruined; for the far inland People having now no Markets to carry their Slaves to, as formerly, and the *Dahomes* uſing no Trade but that of War, few *Negroes* are now brought down to be ſold to the *Europeans*.

Whether it was the badneſs of Trade, occaſioned by the *Dahomes* acting in this manner, or any thing elſe, that enraged Mr. *Teſteſole* againſt them; he was ſo imprudent, that on all Opportunities he uſed their People ill, when they came to the *Engliſh* Fort: And at laſt whipped one of their principal Men at the Flag-Staff; and upon his complaining of this great Indignity, *Teſteſole* raſhly replied, *He would ſerve his King in the ſame manner if he was in his Power*. All this being afterwards reported to his Majeſty, it highly offended him: And he ſaid, " Surely this Man muſt be full of Malice

" againſt

" againſt us, elſe he could never have ſo " ſuddenly forgot our former Kindneſſes " to him."

The King upon this ordered his People to watch for an Opportunity to ſurprize the Governor, and make him Priſoner; and his Imprudence ſoon made him fall into their Hands in the following manner. There was a *French* Captain who had a Factory, at ſome diſtance from the *Engliſh* Fort: This Gentleman had been drinking with the Governor all night, and when the day came, he perſuaded Mr. *Teſteſole* to go and drink Coffee with him at his Factory. The *Dahomes*, who were on the Watch, ſeeing him go to the *Frenchman*'s Houſe, went and ſurrounded it, demanding to have the Governor delivered to them. This the Captain at firſt refuſed, but they threatning to burn his Factory; he told them, He would forthwith bring him out. So he went into the Houſe, and adviſed Mr. *Teſteſole* to make his Eſcape; which he refuſing to do, the Captain put him by force into a large Cheſt, and lock'd him in: Then

he went out, and told the *Dahomes*, " He " could not find the Governor, and that " he believed he had eſcaped." This ſo enraged them, that they fired a Piſtol at the Captain, which ſhot him in the Arm, and thereupon broke into his Houſe, where they at laſt found the unfortunate Man in the Cheſt; whom they took out, tied his Hands and Legs, and putting him into a Hammock, ſent him away to their King, who was at that time encamp'd up into the Country, four days journey off.

This unhappy Gentleman flattered himſelf, that the former Kindneſs the King had ſhown for him, would now ſave him; but his Majeſty was ſo highly offended, that he would not vouchſafe to ſee him; ſo that he gave himſelf up for loſt. However, a few days after this he was ſent down to *Sabee*, about four Miles from the Fort, where he was given to underſtand, " If he would write to the Per- " ſon that commanded in his Abſence, " for ſeveral things, which they named, " for his Ranſom, that on their being " ſent he ſhould have his Liberty.

This

This he readily complied with, and they inſtantly allowed him more Freedom, permitting two of his own Negroe Servants to wait on him; ſo that he began to be eaſy in his Mind: But the Scene ſoon changed; for on their receiving the Things he had writ for, and which were of a conſiderable Value, theſe cruel baſe Villains ſeized his Perſon, and made his Body faſt to Stakes drove in the Ground: Where, ſpreading him on his Belly, they with ſharp Knives cut open his Arms, Back, Thighs and Legs in ſeveral places, and filled the Wounds with a mixture of Limejuice, Salt and Pepper mixed together; which put him to inexpreſſible Torment. However, they ſoon after put him out of his pain, by cutting off his Head. Then they cut his Body in pieces, broiled them on the Coals, and eat them.

Thus this poor Gentleman loſt his Life in a terrible manner. And tho' the King of *Dahomè* has ſince denied to ſome white People, " That he gave Orders to " have him put to death;" His Majeſty

ſaying, by way of Excuſe, " He only told " ſome of his principal People to carry him " to *Sabee*, and there do with him what " they thought fit, not ſuſpecting they " would have uſed a white Gentleman in " ſuch a manner;" Yet it is not to be doubted but they knew their Maſter's Mind too well in this Affair. For his Majeſty puniſhed none of thoſe that were Actors in this cruel Tragedy; tho' it was earneſtly inſiſted on. Nay ſome of them that eat part of his Fleſh, have been ſince ſo audacious, as to tell ſeveral *Portugueſe* Gentlemen, that talked with them about it, " That *Engliſh* Beef was very good."

After Mr. *Teſteſole*'s unhappy Fate, two white Men running away from the *Engliſh* Fort, one of them went to the King of *Dahomè*, and informed him, " There " were but four white People left in the " place, ſo that he might eaſily take it." The King replied, " He had no quarrel " with the *Engliſh* Nation; for what had " been done to the late Governor, he by " his Imprudence had brought on himſelf: " And he hoped, the *African* Company " would

" would ſend a fitter Perſon to command " the *Fort* for the future."

Sometime after this the King of *Dahomè* conſidering he ſhould certainly be invaded again by the *J-oes*, as ſoon as the Seaſon permitted them to march, and dreading very much their power, he ſent Embaſſadors with large Preſents to their King, together with one of his handſomeſt Daughters. Theſe were civilly received, and had the good fortune to ſucceed in their Negotiations. For they ſo gained ſome great Men about the King, by preſenting them with large pieces of *Coral* (which the *J-oes* eſteem above all things) that by their means an advantagious Peace was obtained for their Maſter, and they were civilly diſmiſſed with handſome Rewards. For a Confirmation of the Peace, the King of *J-oe* ſent, a little while after, one of his Daughters to the King of *Dahomè* for a Wife; and ſhe was received with great Joy by the King and his People.

At my going on Shore at *Jaqueen*, the latter end of *February* 1729-30: I was

informed of all that I have here related; and tho' I found Trade very dull, yet all the white Gentlemen reſiding at that place, were full of Expectations, That, now a Peace was concluded between the *J-oes* and the *Dahomes*, we ſhould ſoon have a great many *Negroes* brought down for Sale. But tho' I was there above two Months, Trade did not mend in the leaſt: And I am afraid it will not for many Years, becauſe of the great Deſtruction of the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Countries, who uſed to carry on a regular Trade with the far inland People: Neither will thoſe that had the good fortune to eſcape the *Dahomes* Cruelty, dare to return during the Life of the preſent Conqueror, whoſe Perfidiouſneſs and Treachery they have often experienced.

I ſhall conclude this firſt Book with an account of a Misfortune that befel me by Fire, whilſt I was at *Jaqueen*. The relation, if I miſtake not, may be acceptable to the Reader, and give him a true notion of the Buildings, and ſome other Matters amongſt the *Negroes*.

The

The Houſes in that Country are built with mud-Walls, one Story high. The Rafters that ſupport the Roof are made of *Bamboes*, which is a light ſpungy Wood. On theſe they lay a great quantity of Thatch, which in the dry Seaſon of the Year is like Tinder: Yet the Natives are ſo careleſs, that many Fires happen in that Seaſon; there having been no leſs than five during the two Months I was there, in which ſome thouſands of their Houſes were burnt down. This careleſneſs of the *Negroes*, I judge, chiefly proceeds from the little regard they have for their Furniture. For it is very mean, except amongſt ſome of the principal People, conſiſting of *Matts* to ſleep on, earthen *Pots* to boil their Victuals in; with a few other things of ſmall value. Moreover, the Walls of their Houſes being made of Clay, the Fire does them rather good than hurt, as it bakes them harder. And to new cover them it coſts but little. So that the *Europeans* that have Factories in the Town of *Jaqueen*, are often great Sufferers by theſe frequent Fires,

Fires, occaſioned generally by the ſtupid Careleſſneſs of the Negroes, which proceeds from the Reaſons juſt now mentioned.

I thought our Factory pretty ſafe from it, for we lived in a large Court belonging to the Duke, who was the only Brother of the Lord of the Place by the ſame Mother, and his chief Miniſter. This Houſe joined to the Apartments of the Duke's Women, which it being a capital Crime for the Natives to go into, ſo it would have been very imprudent for any white Man to have attempted it: Yet the Fire obliged us to ſave our ſelves that way, as I ſhall juſt now relate. The other ſide of the Court we lived in, opened into the Fields; and juſt by our Door a narrow Street began, where the Lord of *Jaqueen*'s *Feticheer* or Prieſt lived with his Family.

Two Fires having happened in the Town, within a few days one of the other, in which ſome *Portugueſe* ſuffered a great Loſs in their Goods, I expreſs'd my apprehenſions of the like Danger. But the Duke aſſured me, "It was never

"known,

" known, that either his Brother's Houſes,
" or his own had been burn'd. For they
" having abundance of Servants, if any
" Fire began near them, their People, by
" unthatching the Houſes, ſoon put a
" ſtop to it. Moreover, all the Inhabi-
" tants who lived near the Court, were
" very careful of Fire; becauſe it was
" death by their Law to all the Family
" where it began." Theſe Reaſons made me more eaſy than I had been for ſome time. But on the fifteenth of *March*, being *Sunday*, what I long feared came to paſs.

My hired black Servants aſked me leave after Dinner, to go to the Burial of one of their acquaintance; and ſeveral of my white People did the ſame, being deſirous to ſee the Cuſtoms of the Blacks on this occaſion: In which indeed they are very ridiculous and expenſive, drinking as much Brandy and other Liquors, as the Circumſtances of the deceaſed Perſon will allow. I granted them all their requeſt; and by that means there remained only two white Men with me in the Factory. The

The Fire began about two a clock that afternoon, in the *Feticheer*'s Houſe, juſt oppoſite to our Door, which immediately taking Fire, prevented our Eſcape that way. However in the firſt Surprize, I gave my Box of Books and Accounts to one of my young Men, who ventured through the Door-way with them, tho' he was ſcorched by the Flames; and ſo I luckily ſaved them. My next care was to ſave our *Gold*, which I kept in a large *Dutch* Cheſt, thinking it ſafer there than in a Portmanteau, or a ſmall Box, which our black Servants might have been tempted to run away with. But, in the hurry, I could not find the Key of the Cheſt, to take the Money out; and the Fire having taken hold of the Thatch of the room wherein it ſtood, I and the other white Man then remaining with me, took it up, and carried it into the Apartments belonging to the Duke's Women: Where we met him and his Brother with many People, going to endeavour to ſtop the Fire, by unthatching the adjoining Houſes; but the Flames were got to ſuch a head,

that

that they were ſoon forced to fly before them. My Man and I having carried the Cheſt through ſeveral windings and turnings in the Duke's Houſes, we began to be quite tired, (for it was very heavy) when, juſt in the nick of time, five black People came running towards us, and the way was ſo narrow they could not eaſily paſs by us. One of theſe Men I knew, who ſpoke good *Engliſh*, " ſo I deſired " him and the others to ſave the Cheſt, " for which I would well reward them." He anſwered, " They durſt not aſſiſt me; " being obliged, on no leſs a Penalty than " the loſs of their Heads, to go and ſave the " Duke's Goods." By good fortune I had my Cane then hanging on my Wriſt, which I uſed to ſuch purpoſe, that two of them immediately took up the Cheſt; whereupon I let the other three paſs by: So, with the help of the two Men I had obliged to aſſiſt us, we got the Cheſt at laſt over a Wall ten foot high, into the Street, and ſo to the *Dutch* Factory in ſafety. But we had the Misfortune to loſe in our Factory a large quantity of

Goods, with all my Neceſſaries, except what was in the Cheſt. All the Duke's houſes, and the greateſt part of his Furniture was deſtroyed; but his Brother's were preſerved, by unthatching the Houſes that ſtood next his Court. I think, for the time this Fire laſted, which was but about an hour, nothing could be fiercer or quicker; and had it happened in the night, we ſhould certainly have been burnt; for we could never have found our way out, amongſt ſo many Turnings and Windings, as were in the Dukes Apartments.

When the hurry was pretty well over, the Lord of *Jaqueen* inquired after me, being under ſome concern about me; for he did not ſee me as he paſſed along in his Brother's Rooms: As ſoon as he was informed of my Safety, he ſent a Meſſenger to enquire, " How I did, after ſo ſevere " a Misfortune?"

It is remarkable, we could never learn how this Fire happened, for tho' I often preſs'd the Duke to make an inquiry after it, yet he always declined it; which I believe

was on account of his Brother's *Feticheer*, in whoſe Family the Fire began. However, they were ſo wiſe as not to let them repair their Houſes, but obliged them to build further from the Court which belonged to the Duke.

Adjoining to the *Feticheer*'s Houſe that was burnt, there was a large ſquare Court, adorned with many handſome Trees that grew round it. In the middle of this place ſtood the Lord of *Jaqueen*'s *Fetiche*. It was made in the faſhion of a large Hay-cock, and covered over with Thatch: On the top of this was placed a dead Man's Scull, before which Offerings were made for the Duke's Health and Preſervation. This *Fetiche* eſcaped being burn'd, tho' all the Houſes adjoining to the Court wherein it ſtood were conſum'd. This was cryed up by the People as a great Miracle; ſaying, "Their Lord's God had "taken care to preſerve his own Houſe:" Tho' by what I could judge it was impoſſible this *Fetiche* ſhould be burn'd, becauſe it was at a conſiderable diſtance from the Fire, and guarded by ſo many

Trees

Trees full of Branches and Leaves. But it was in vain to argue againſt their ſuperſtitious Notion.

After this Misfortune, I ſent my People on board to get them more neceſſaries; during which time I remained in the *Dutch* Factory. On their return aſhore, I was obliged, tho' much againſt my will, to take a new-built houſe belonging to the Duke, but finding no one durſt let me one (which it ſeems had been forbidden for the ſake of the Duke's Advantage) I complied. But what I feared came to paſs, for we all got Fevers in a few days after we had been in this Houſe.

About ten days after this, another terrible Fire happened, which began in a *Portugueſe* Factory, and in this manner. A *Negroe* Cook frying ſome Fiſh in Palm-Oyl, the Oyl took fire; and he imprudently throwing Water thereon, the Flame of the Oyl ran up the ſide of the Wall, (for the *Negroe* Houſes have no Chimneys) and inſtantly fired the Thatch. Whereupon, the Wind then blowing very freſh, it

ſpread

ſpread in a moment and conſumed, in two hours time, one third of the Town, in which ſtood ſeveral thouſands of their little Houſes: However, this did not come near our Factory.

Soon after this, my People grew ſo bad, that I was obliged to ſend them on board the Ship, and have others aſhore in their room: In a little while after, the Houſe we had been burnt out of, being repaired, we removed into it; and by this means had the Opportunity of ſeeing daily thouſands of People bring *Bamboes* and Thatch, to repair the Duke's Houſes with; it being the Cuſtom of the Country ſo to do, when either their Lord or his Brother wants it. But the noiſe of the People's Muſick, and antick dancing, on this occaſion, gave me much Diſturbance: Moreover, Trade continuing ſtill very dull, it gave me no little concern; and having got rid of my Fever for a few days, it returned again. Being in theſe unhappy Circumſtances, I received advice, that two of my Owner's Ships were arrived in the Road of *Jaqueen*. Whereupon I left my

Factory, and went on board my Ship; and there, the Commanders of the other two and I agreed, " It would be for our " Owner's Intereſt that I ſhould go di- " rectly for *England.*" So, delivering to one of them what *Negroes* I had on Board, and receiving what Elephants Teeth, and Gold they had, I left the Road of *Jaqueen* the firſt day of *May:* And having had a fine Paſſage, in which I intirely loſt my Fever, and recovered my Strength a little, I arrived ſafe in the River of *Thames* the 13th of *July* 1730.

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ADDITIONS

To the foregoing Account.

AS the Publication of this Book has been deferred till the Winter Seaſon, it may not be unacceptable to the Reader, to have a farther Account of the King of *Dahomè*, according to the lateſt Advices come from thoſe Parts.

I ended the firſt Book with an account of that King's having concluded a Peace with the moſt powerful of his Enemies, the King of *J-oe*. This put the *Europeans* then reſiding at *Jaqueen* in great hopes, that thoſe Countries would be ſettled, and Trade flouriſh again; tho' at my departure from that Place, in *May* 1730, I ſaw but little proſpect of it: And indeed it has been quite ruined ſince, by the Deſtruction of the Country of *Jaqueen*, on the 22d of *March* 1731-2.

For the King of *Dahomè* being a reſtleſs ambitious Prince, inſtead of endeavouring (after the concluding of the Peace with the *J-oes*) to ſettle his conquered Countries, he marched far Inland againſt a Nation called the *Yahoos*.

Theſe People valiantly defended themſelves for many Months, having retired amongſt their Mountains and Woods, where they were beſieged by the *Dahomes*. The rainy Seaſon coming on, the *Dahome* Soldiers were deſirous of returning to their own Country, but the King was highly incenſed at it, and put ſeveral of the principal Officers to death, only for mentioning it to him. This cauſed great Murmurings in the Army, which were increaſed by their Sufferings from the Rains; ſo that ſome of his Captains deſerted him with many Soldiers, amongſt whom was one of his Sons, who fled with four thouſand Men to the King of *Weemey*.

Finding himſelf in theſe Circumſtances, he reſolved to make one grand Effort on the *Yahoos*, in which he prevailed; but

tho'

tho' he beat them out of their Faſtneſſes, he gain'd little by it, they making a brave Retreat, in which his wearied Soldiers could not purſue them; and ſoon after he returned to his own Country, with the loſs of moſt of his Forces and of his Reputation.

At this the People of *Jaqueen* were not a little pleaſed; for they always ſtood in fear of him, but now began to entertain Hopes, he might at laſt be deſtroyed.

There reſided at that Place, a *Dutch* Gentleman named *Mynheer Hertog*. This Perſon carried on a conſiderable Trade, with the help of his black Servants, into ſeveral diſtant Countries, by means of a River that runs from *Jaqueen* into the Bay of *Bennin*. Having gained a great influence over the King of *Jaqueen*, they often conſulted together, ſending private Meſſages by the Traders to the King of *Weemey*, and other neighbouring Princes, to ſtir them up againſt the King of *Dahomè*, and withal ſupplied them with Ammunition. Of this the King of *Dahomè* having received Intelligence, and alſo that

the People of *Jaqueen* were going to build a Fortification by the Directions of the *Europeans* reſiding there; he reſolved to attack them, in order to be revenged.

The better to deceive them, he gave out, that he intended a ſecond Expedition far inland: And to blind the *Jaqueen* Spies, he gave Order to his General to march towards the inland Parts, but in the Night the Army wheeled about, and with great Expedition (tho' there were above fifteen thouſand men in this Army) they came by the way of *Whidaw* to *Jaqueen*, without being diſcovered, till they were juſt entring the Town.

As the People of *Jaqueen* ſtood always in dread of the King of *Dahomè*, (as I have juſt now mention'd) they kept in readineſs a great many *Cannoes* in the River that runs on the back part of the Town, to ſave themſelves, in caſe they ſhould be attacked and defeated. But being now ſurprized, they had little time to provide for their own Safety: However, the King and many of his principal People eſcaped in the Cannoes, to an Iſland he had for-

tified

tified againſt ſuch an Accident, and which lies in the middle of the River towards *Appah*. By that means he eſcaped the fury of the *Dahomes*; but he loſt all his Riches, and, to add to his Misfortune, his Mother, (that was highly reverenced by him and his People) was taken Priſoner by the Enemy, and carried to the King of *Dahomè*; and what became of her afterwards is unknown.

Mynheer Hertog, the *Dutch Chief*, was at dinner, when the *Dahomes* entered the Town: And knowing how obnoxious he had made himſelf to their King, he immediately fled, being defended by four hundred of his People from the Enemy, till he got into a Cannoe; and then they ſhifted for themſelves. He loſt every thing in the Factory, which at that time was full of *European Goods* to a very great Value. This Gentleman eſcaped to *Appah*, which lies on the Sea Coaſt, about ten Leagues to the eaſtward of *Jaqueen*. He was kindly received by the King and People, who have a great averſion for the *Dahomes*.

In the Town of *Jaqueen* the Conquerors met with a great deal of Plunder, the Inhabitants not having had time to carry any thing away. But not ſatisfied with this, they made, according to their barbarous Cuſtom, a terrible Carnage of the People; and to compleat the Deſtruction of the Country, ſet all the Towns and Villages on fire.

There were at this time in *Jaqueen* ſeveral *Europeans*, who fared little better than the Natives; their Factories being plundered of every thing. Amongſt the reſt there was Captain *Robert More* Commander of the *Squirrel Galley*, belonging to the late *Humphrey Morrice* Eſq; This Gentleman being taken Priſoner with the white Men in his Factory, (as the *French* and *Portugueſe* alſo were in theirs) was obliged to travel with them to the King of *Dahomè*, who then reſided at *Ardra*, about fifty Miles within Land. And they were not ſo much as provided with Hammocks, or any other Carriages, but forced to walk on foot in the ſcorching Sun, which had like to have kill'd them.

Upon their appearing before the King, Captain *More* complained of his hard uſage; telling his Majeſty, " They had " had no Victuals nor any Refreſhment " ſince they had been taken Priſoners." The King thereupon roſe up, and went into an inner room; whence coming out again with a Hatchet in his Hand, the ſight of it ſo frightned ſome of the *Portugueſe*, that they fell on their Knees to implore his Mercy; imagining their Heads were going to be cut off. But Captain *More* ſeverely upbraiding them for their cowardly Behaviour, ſo diſgraceful to white Men, they roſe up: And had ſoon after the pleaſure of ſeeing a ſmall Caſk of Beef opened with it, and ſeveral pieces ordered to be dreſs'd for them. This Caſk of Beef, it ſeems, was found by the Soldiers in the Captain's Factory, and ſent up with other Plunder, to the King, the day before.

Then they were diſtributed according to their different Nations, and put under the care of ſeveral great Men. Captain *More* and his People were delivered to

Allegee,

Allegee the *Engliſh* Cabocier; (as he was termed) that is, the Perſon appointed to Trade with them in particular. This black Gentleman treated them with great Civility; but they had the Mortification, a few days after, to hear, he was ſeized and beheaded; tho' they could never learn the Cauſe.

It ſeems the King of *Dahomè* is grown exceedingly cruel towards his People, being always ſuſpicious, that Plots and Conſpiracies are carrying on againſt him: So that he frequently cuts off ſome of his great Men on bare Surmiſes. This, added to the many Diſappointments he has met with from the *J-oes*, has ſo ſoured his Temper, that he is likewiſe greatly altered towards the *Europeans*, as Captain *More* experienced. For this Gentleman had been at his Camp formerly, and was known to him ſoon after the Conqueſt of *Whidaw*, as I have related in the former part of this Book.

Beſides, both King and People continue as ſavage as ever, tho' they have converſed for ſeveral Years paſt with white Men.

Men. For one day the Council having begged a Captive, his Majesty readily gave them one, whom they killed and feasted on.

But to return to Captain *More*. He and the other *Europeans* having continued a good while Prisoners, Mr. *Dean*, the *African* Company's Governor of the Fort at *Whidaw*, came to *Ardra*, and interceded with the King for them: Representing, "As they had been at *Ja-*"*queen* only on account of Trade, it was "very unjust to detain them." With these and many other Arguments, he at last obtained their Freedom: And a Guard was ordered to see Captain *More* safe down to *Jaqueen*. But he reflecting on the hard usage he had received at that place from the Soldiers, when at first taken Prisoner; and that they still were encamped there, he chose to go by the way of *Whidaw*: From whence he got on board a *French* Ship, and borrowed their Boat, which carried him to his own Ship, that lay in the Road of *Jaqueen*.

From

From this and the foregoing Account the Reader may obſerve, that now all the Countries near the Sea ſide, which the King of *Dahomè* could poſſibly get at, are not only conquered, but alſo turned into Deſolation, with the Inland Parts, in ſo terrible a manner, that there is no Proſpect of Trade's reviving there again for many Years, or at leaſt ſo long as the Conqueror lives. What little there is, is carried on chiefly at *Appah*, a place ſecured from him by a Moraſs and a River.

The End of BOOK I.

BOOK

BOOK II.

The manner how the Negroes become Slaves. The Numbers of them yearly exported from Guinea *to* America. *The Lawfulneſs of that Trade. Mutinies among them on board the Ships where the Author has been,* &c.

BEFORE I give a particular Relation of the ſeveral *Mutinies* among the Negroe Slaves, whereof I have been a Witneſs, and which is to be the chief Subject of this preſent Book, it will be very proper to prefix a ſhort account of the *Manner* how the *Negroes* become Slaves; what *Numbers* of them are yearly exported from *Guinea*; and

and then offer a few words in Juſtification of that Trade.

The manner how the Negroes become Slaves.

As for the *Manner* how thoſe People become Slaves; it may be reduced under theſe ſeveral Heads.

1. It has been the Cuſtom among the *Negroes*, time out of Mind, and is ſo to this day, for them to make Slaves of all the Captives they take in War. Now, before they had an Opportunity of ſelling them to the white People, they were often obliged to kill great Multitudes, when they had taken more than they could well employ in their own Plantations, for fear they ſhould rebel, and endanger their Maſters Safety.

2*dly*. Moſt Crimes amongſt them are puniſhed by Mulcts and Fines; and if the Offender has not wherewithal to pay his Fine, he is ſold for a Slave: This is the Practice of the inland People, as well as of thoſe on the Sea ſide.

3*dly*. Debtors who refuſe to pay their Debts, or are inſolvent, are likewiſe liable to be made Slaves; but their Friends may redeem them: And if they are not able or willing

willing to do it, then they are generally ſold for the Benefit of their Creditors. But few of theſe come into the hands of the *Europeans*, being kept by their Countrymen for their own uſe.

4*thly*. I have been told, That it is common for ſome inland People, to ſell their Children for Slaves, tho' they are under no Neceſſity for ſo doing; which I am inclined to believe. But I never obſerved, that the People near the Sea Coaſt practiſe this, unleſs compelled thereto by extreme Want and Famine, as the People of *Whidaw* have lately been.

Number of Negroes exported.

Now, by theſe means it is that ſo many of the Negroes become Slaves, and more eſpecially by being taken Captives in War. Of theſe the Number is ſo great, that I may ſafely affirm, without any Exaggeration, that the *Europeans* of all Nations, that trade to the Coaſt of *Guinea*, have, in ſome Years, exported at leaſt ſeventy thouſand. And tho' this may no doubt be thought at firſt hearing a prodigious Number; yet when 'tis conſidered how great the Extent of this Coaſt is, namely from

from *Cape Verd* to *Angola*, which is about four thouſand Miles in length; and that *Polygamy* is allowed in general amongſt them, by which means the Countries are full of People, I hope it will not be thought improbable that ſo many are yearly exported from thence.

Lawfulneſs of that Trade.

Several Objections have often been raiſed againſt the Lawfulneſs of this Trade, which I ſhall not here undertake to refute. I ſhall only obſerve in general, That tho' to traffick in human Creatures, may at firſt ſight appear barbarous, inhuman, and unnatural; yet the Traders herein have as much to plead in their own Excuſe, as can be ſaid for ſome other Branches of Trade, namely, the *Advantage* of it: And that not only in regard of the Merchants, but alſo of the Slaves themſelves, as will plainly appear from theſe following Reaſons.

Firſt, It is evident, that abundance of Captives, taken in War, would be inhumanly deſtroyed, was there not an Opportunity of diſpoſing of them to the *Europeans*. So that at leaſt many Lives are ſaved;

ſaved; and great Numbers of uſeful Perſons kept in being.

Secondly, When they are carried to the Plantations, they generally live much better there, than they ever did in their own Country; for as the Planters pay a great price for them, 'tis their intereſt to take care of them.

Thirdly, By this means the *Engliſh* Plantations have been ſo much improved, that 'tis almoſt incredible, what great Advantages have accrued to the Nation thereby; eſpecially to the *Sugar Iſlands*, which lying in a Climate near as hot as the Coaſt of *Guinea*, the *Negroes* are fitter to cultivate the Lands there, than white People.

Then as to the Criminals amongſt the *Negroes*, they are by this means effectually tranſported, never to return again; a Benefit which we very much want here.

In a word, from this Trade proceed Benefits, far outweighing all, either real or pretended Miſchiefs and Inconveniencies. And, let the worſt that can, be ſaid of it, it will be found, like all other earthly Advantages, tempered with a mixture of Good and Evil.

Mutinies among the Negroes, in the Ships where the Author has been.

I come now to give an Account of the Mutinies that have happened on board the Ships where I have been.

Theſe Mutinies are generally occaſioned by the Sailors ill uſage of theſe poor People, when on board the Ships wherein they are tranſported to our Plantations. Wherever therefore I have commanded, it has been my principal Care, to have the *Negroes* on board my Ship kindly uſed; and I have always ſtrictly charged my white People to treat them with Humanity and Tenderneſs: In which I have uſually found my Account, both in keeping them from mutinying, and preſerving them in health.

And whereas it may ſeem ſtrange to thoſe that are unacquainted with the method of managing them, how we can carry ſo many hundreds together in a ſmall Ship, and keep them in order; I ſhall juſt mention what is generally practiſed. When we purchaſe grown People, I acquaint them by the Interpreter, " That, " now they are become my Property, I " think fit to let them know what they " are bought for, that they may be eaſy

" in

" in their Minds: (For theſe poor People are generally under terrible Apprehenſions upon their being bought by white Men, many being afraid that we deſign to eat them; which, I have been told, is a ſtory much credited by the inland *Negroes*;) " So after informing them, That " they are bought to till the Ground in " our Country, with ſeveral other Mat- " ters; I then acquaint them, how they " are to behave themſelves on board, to- " wards the white Men; that if any one " abuſes them, they are to complain to " the Linguiſt, who is to inform me of " it, and I will do them Juſtice: But if " they make a Diſturbance, or offer to " ſtrike a white Man, they muſt expect " to be ſeverely puniſhed."

When we purchaſe the *Negroes*, we couple the ſturdy Men together with Irons; but we ſuffer the Women and Children to go freely about: And ſoon after we have ſail'd from the Coaſt, we undo all the Mens Irons.

They are fed twice a day, and are allowed in fair Weather to come on Deck

at ſeven a clock in the Morning, and to remain there, if they think proper, till Sun ſetting. Every *Monday* Morning they are ſerved with Pipes and Tobacco, which they are very fond of. The Men *Negroes* lodge ſeparate from the Women and Children; and the places where they all lye are cleaned every day, ſome white Men being appointed to ſee them do it.

It would be tedious to the Reader as well as to my ſelf, ſhould I relate all the Particulars of our Management of them, and the Care we take to keep them in health and order; wherefore I ſhall conclude with this remark, That if a Commander is himſelf well inclined, and has good Officers to execute his Orders, the Negroes on board may be eaſily governed; and many Difficulties (which unavoidably ariſe amongſt ſuch Numbers) got over with a little trouble.

The firſt Mutiny I ſaw among the *Negroes*, happened during my firſt Voyage, in the Year 1704. It was on board the *Eagle Galley* of *London*, commanded by my Father, with whom I was as Purſer.

We

We had bought our Negroes in the River of *Old Callabar* in the Bay of *Guinea.* At the time of their mutinying we were in that River, having four hundred of them on board, and not above ten white Men who were able to do Service: For ſeveral of our Ship's Company were dead, and many more ſick; beſides, two of our Boats were juſt then gone with twelve People on Shore to fetch Wood, which lay in ſight of the Ship. All theſe Circumſtances put the *Negroes* on conſulting how to mutiny, which they did at four a clock in the Afternoon, juſt as they went to Supper. But as we had always carefully examined the Mens Irons, both Morning and Evening, none had got them off, which in a great meaſure contributed to our Preſervation. Three white Men ſtood on the Watch with Cutlaces in their Hands. One of them who was on the Forecaſtle, a ſtout fellow, ſeeing ſome of the Men Negroes take hold of the chief Mate, in order to throw him over board, he laid on them ſo heartily with the flat ſide of his Cutlace, that they ſoon

quitted the Mate, who eſcaped from them, and run on the Quarter Deck to get Arms. I was then ſick with an Ague, and lying on a Couch in the great Cabbin, the Fit being juſt come on. However, I no ſooner heard the Outcry, *That the Slaves were mutinying*, but I took two Piſtols, and run on the Deck with them; where meeting with my Father and the chief Mate, I delivered a Piſtol to each of them. Whereupon they went forward on the Booms, calling to the Negroe Men that were on the Forecaſtle; but they did not regard their Threats, being buſy with the Centry, (who had diſengaged the chief Mate,) and they would have certainly killed him with his own Cutlace, could they have got it from him; but they could not break the Line wherewith the Handle was faſtened to his Wriſt. And ſo, tho' they had ſeized him, yet they could not make uſe of his Cutlace. Being thus diſappointed, they endeavoured to throw him overboard, but he held ſo faſt by one of them that they could not do it. My Father ſeeing this ſtout Man

in

in ſo much Danger, ventured amongſt the *Negroes*, to ſave him; and fired his Piſtol over their Heads, thinking to frighten them. But a luſty Slave ſtruck him with a Billet ſo hard, that he was almoſt ſtunned. The Slave was going to repeat the Blow, when a young Lad about ſeventeen years old, whom we had been kind to, interpoſed his Arm, and received the Blow, by which his Arm-bone was fractured. At the ſame inſtant the Mate fired his Piſtol, and ſhot the *Negroe* that had ſtruck my Father. At the ſight of this the Mutiny ceaſed, and all the Men-negroes on the Forecaſtle threw themſelves flat on their Faces, crying out for Mercy.

Upon examining into the matter, we found, there were not above twenty Men Slaves concerned in this Mutiny; and the two Ringleaders were miſſing, having, it ſeems, jumped overboard as ſoon as they found their Project defeated, and were drowned. This was all the Loſs we ſuffered on this occaſion: For the *Negroe* that was ſhot by the Mate, the Surgeon, beyond all Expectation, cured. And I

had the good Fortune to loſe my Ague, by the fright and hurry I was put into. Moreover, the young Man, who had received the Blow on his Arm to ſave my Father, was cured by the Surgeon in our Paſſage to *Virginia*. At our Arrival in that place we gave him his Freedom; and a worthy Gentleman, one Colonel *Carter*, took him into his Service, till he became well enough acquainted in the Country to provide for himſelf.

I have been ſeveral Voyages, when there has been no Attempt made by our Negroes to mutiny; which, I believe, was owing chiefly, to their being kindly uſed, and to my Officers Care in keeping a good Watch. But ſometimes we meet with ſtout ſtubborn People amongſt them, who are never to be made eaſy; and theſe are generally ſome of the *Cormantines*, a Nation of the *Gold Coaſt*. I went in the year 1721, in the *Henry* of *London*, a Voyage to that part of the *Coaſt*, and bought a good many of theſe People. We were obliged to ſecure them very well in Irons, and watch them narrowly: Yet they

they nevertheleſs mutinied, tho' they had little proſpect of ſucceeding. I lay at that time near a place called *Mumfort* on the *Gold-Coaſt*, having near five hundred Negroes on board, three hundred of which were Men. Our Ship's Company conſiſted of fifty white People, all in health: And I had very good Officers; ſo that I was very eaſy in all reſpects.

This Mutiny began at Midnight (the Moon then ſhining very bright) in this manner. Two Men that ſtood Centry at the Fore-hatch way, where the Men Slaves came up to go to the houſe of Office, permitted four to go to that place; but neglected to lay the Gratings again, as they ſhould have done: Whereupon four more Negroes came on Deck, who had got their Irons off, and the four in the houſe of Office having done the ſame, all the eight fell on the two Centries, who immediately called out for help. The Negroes endeavoured to get their Cutlaces from them, but the Lineyards (that is the Lines by which the handles of the Cutlaces were faſtned to the Mens Wriſts) were ſo twiſted

twiſted in the Scuffle, that they could not get them off before we came to their Aſſiſtance. The Negroes perceiving ſeveral white Men coming towards them, with Arms in their hands, quitted the Centries, and jumped over the Ship's ſide into the Sea.

I being by this time come forward on the Deck, my firſt care was to ſecure the Gratings, to prevent any more Negroes from coming up; and then I ordered People to get into the Boat, and ſave thoſe that had jumped over-board, which they luckily did: For they found them all clinging to the Cables the Ship was moored by.

After we had ſecured theſe People, I called the Linguiſts, and ordered them to bid the Men-Negroes between Decks be quiet; (for there was a great noiſe amongſt them.) On their being ſilent, I aſked, " What had induced them to mu-
" tiny? They anſwered, I was a great
" Rogue to buy them, in order to carry
" them away from their own Country;
" and that they were reſolved to regain
" their Liberty if poſſible." I replied,

" That they had forfeited their Freedom " before I bought them, either by Crimes, " or by being taken in War, according to " the Cuſtom of their Country; and they " being now my Property, I was reſolved " to let them feel my Reſentment, if " they abuſed my Kindneſs: Aſking at the " ſame time, Whether they had been ill " uſed by the white Men, or had wanted " for any thing the Ship afforded?" To this they replied, " They had nothing to " complain of." Then I obſerved to them, " That if they ſhould gain their Point " and eſcape to the Shore, it would be " no Advantage to them, becauſe their " Countrymen would catch them, and " ſell them to other Ships." This ſerved my purpoſe, and they ſeemed to be convinced of their Fault, begging, " I would " forgive them, and promiſing for the " future to be obedient, and never mu- " tiny again, if I would not puniſh them " this time." This I readily granted, and ſo they went to ſleep. When Day-light came we called the Men Negroes up on Deck, and examining their Irons, found them

them all ſecure. So this Affair happily ended, which I was very glad of; for theſe People are the ſtouteſt and moſt ſenſible *Negroes* on the Coaſt: Neither are they ſo weak as to imagine as others do, that we buy them to eat them; being ſatisfied we carry them to work in our Plantations, as they do in their own Country.

However, a few days after this, we diſcovered they were plotting again, and preparing to mutiny. For ſome of the Ringleaders propoſed to one of our Linguiſts, If he could procure them an Ax, they would cut the Cables the Ship rid by in the night; and ſo on her driving (as they imagined) aſhore, they ſhould get out of our hands, and then would become his Servants as long as they lived.

For the better underſtanding of this I muſt obſerve here, that theſe Linguiſts are Natives and Freemen of the Country, whom we hire on account of their ſpeaking good *Engliſh*, during the time we remain trading on the Coaſt; and they are likewiſe Brokers between us and the black Merchants.

This

This Linguiſt was ſo honeſt as to acquaint me with what had been propoſed to him; and adviſed me to keep a ſtrict Watch over the Slaves: For tho' he had repreſented to them the ſame as I had done on their mutinying before, That they would be all catch'd again, and ſold to other Ships, in caſe they could carry their Point, and get on Shore; yet it had no effect upon them.

This gave me a good deal of Uneaſineſs. For I knew ſeveral Voyages had proved unſucceſsful by Mutinies; as they occaſioned either the total loſs of the Ship and the white Mens Lives; or at leaſt by rendring it abſolutely neceſſary to kill or wound a great number of the Slaves, in order to prevent a total Deſtruction. Moreover, I knew many of theſe *Cormantine* Negroes deſpiſed Puniſhment, and even Death it ſelf: It having often happened at *Barbadoes* and other Iſlands, that on their being any ways hardly dealt with, to break them of their Stubbornneſs in refuſing to work, twenty or more have hang'd themſelves at a time in a Plantation.

on. However, about a Month after this, a ſad Accident happened, that brought our Slaves to be more orderly, and put them in a better Temper: And it was this. On our going from *Mumfort* to *Annamaboe*, which is the principal part on the *Gold Coaſt*, I met there with another of my Owner's Ships, called the *Elizabeth*. One Captain *Thompſon* that commanded her was dead; as alſo his chief Mate: Moreover the Ship had afterwards been taken at Cape *Lahoe* on the windward Coaſt, by *Roberts* the Pirate, with whom ſeveral of the Sailors belonging to her had entered. However, ſome of the Pirates had hindered the Cargoe's being plundered, and obtained that the Ship ſhould be reſtored to the ſecond Mate: Telling him, "They "did it out of reſpect to the generous Cha- "racter his Owner bore, in doing good "to poor Sailors."

When I met with this Veſſel I had almoſt diſpoſed of my Ship's Cargoe; and the *Elizabeth* being under my Direction, I acquainted the ſecond Mate, who then commanded her, That I thought it for our

our Owner's Intereſt, to take the Slaves from on board him, being about 120, into my Ship; and then go off the Coaſt; and that I would deliver him at the ſame time the Remains of my Cargoe, for him to diſpoſe of with his own after I was failed. This he readily complied with, but told me, " He feared his Ship's Company " would mutiny, and oppoſe my taking " the Slaves from him:" And indeed, they came at that inſtant in a Body on the Quarter-deck; where one ſpoke for the reſt, telling me plainly, " they would not " allow the Slaves to be taken out by me." I found by this they had loſt all reſpect for their preſent Commander, who indeed was a weak Man. However, I calmly aſked the reaſon, " Why they offered to " oppoſe my taking the Slaves?" To which they anſwered, " I had no buſineſs " with them." On this I deſired the Captain to ſend to his Scrutore, for the Book of Inſtructions Captain *Thompſon* had received from our Owner; and he read to them, at my requeſt, that Part, in which their former Captain, or his Succeſſor

Succeſſor (in caſe of Death) was to follow my Orders. Hereupon they all cried out, " they ſhould remain a great while " longer on the Coaſt to purchaſe more " Slaves, if I took theſe from them, which " they were reſolved to oppoſe." I anſwered, " That ſuch of the Ship's Com- " pany as deſired it, I would receive on " board my own; where they ſhould " have the ſame Wages they had at pre- " ſent on board the *Elizabeth*, and I would " ſend ſome of my own People to ſupply " their Places." This ſo reaſonable an Offer was refuſed, one of the Men who was the Ship's Cooper telling me, that the Slaves had been on board a long time, and they had great Friendſhip with them: therefore they would keep them. I aſked him, " Whether he had ever been on the Coaſt of *Guinea* before? He replied no. Then I told him, " I ſuppoſed he had not by " his way of talking, and adviſed him not " to rely on the Friendſhip of the Slaves, " which he might have reaſon to repent " of when too late." And 'tis remarkable this very perſon was killed by them

the next Night, as ſhall be preſently related.

So finding that reaſoning with theſe Men was to no Purpoſe, I told them, " When I came with my Boats to fetch " the Slaves, they ſhould find me as re- " ſolute to chaſtiſe ſuch of them as ſhould " dare to oppoſe me, as I had been con- " deſcending to convince them by argu- " ing calmly." So I took my leave of their Captain, telling him, " I would " come next Morning to finiſh the Af- " fair."

But that very Night, which was near a month after the Mutiny on board of us at *Mumfort*, the Moon ſhining now very bright, as it did then, we heard, about ten a Clock, two or three Muſquets fired on board the *Elizabeth*. Upon that I ordered all our Boats to be manned, and having ſecured every thing in our Ship, to prevent our Slaves from mutinying, I went my ſelf in our Pinnace, (the other Boats following me) on board the *Elizabeth*. In our way we ſaw two Negroes ſwimming from her, but before we

could reach them with our Boats, ſome *Sharks* roſe from the bottom, and tore them in Pieces. We came preſently along the ſide of the Ship, where we found two Men-Negroes holding by a Rope, with their Heads juſt above water; they were afraid, it ſeems, to ſwim from the Ship's ſide, having ſeen their Companions devoured juſt before by the Sharks. Theſe two Slaves we took into our Boat, and then went into the Ship, where we found the Negroes very quiet, and all under Deck; but the Ship's Company was on the Quarter-deck, in a great Confuſion, ſaying, "The Cooper, who had been "placed centry at the Fore-hatch way, "over the Men-Negroes, was, they be-"lieved, kill'd by them." I was ſurprized to hear this, wondring that theſe cowardly fellows, who had ſo vigorouſly oppoſed my taking the Slaves out, a few hours before, had not Courage enough to venture forward, to ſave their Ship-mate; but had ſecured themſelves by ſhutting the Quarter-deck-door, where they all ſtood with Arms in their Hands. So I went

went to the fore-part of the Ship with ſome of my People, and there we found the Cooper lying on his back quite dead, his Scull being cleft aſunder with a Hatchet that lay by him. At the ſight of this I called for the Linguiſt, and bid him aſk the *Negroes* between Decks, " Who " had killed the white Man?" They anſwered, " They knew nothing of the " matter; for there had been no deſign " of mutinying amongſt them:" Which upon Examination we found true; for above one hundred of the Negroes then on board, being bought to Windward, did not underſtand a word of the *Gold-Coaſt* Language, and ſo had not been in the Plot. But this Mutiny was contrived by a few *Cormantee-Negroes*, who had been purchaſed about two or three days before. At laſt, one of the two Men-Negroes we had taken up along the Ship ſide, impeached his Companion, and he readily confeſſed he had kill'd the Cooper, with no other View, but that he and his Countrymen might eſcape undiſcovered by ſwimming on Shore. For on their coming

upon Deck, they obſerved, that all the white Men ſet to watch were aſleep; and having found the Cook's Hatchet by the Fire-place, he took it up, not deſigning then to do any Miſchief with it; but paſſing by the Cooper, who was centry, and he beginning to awake, the Negroe raſhly ſtruck him on the head with it, and then jump'd overboard. Upon this frank Confeſſion, the white Men would have cut him to Pieces; but I prevented it, and carried him to my own Ship. Early the next morning, I went on board the *Elizabeth* with my Boats, and ſent away all the Negroes then in her, into my own Ship: not one of the other Ship's Company offering to oppoſe it. Two of them, the Carpenter and Steward, deſired to go with me, which I readily granted; and by way of Security for the future Succeſs of the Voyage, I put my chief Mate, and four of my under Officers (with their own Conſent,) on board the *Elizabeth*; and they arrived, about five Months after this, at *Jamaica*, having diſpoſed of moſt part of the Cargoe.

After

After having ſent the Slaves out of the *Elizabeth*, as I have juſt now mentioned, I went on board my own Ship; and there being then in the Road of *Anamaboe*, eight ſail of Ships beſides us, I ſent an Officer in my Boat to the Commanders of them, " To deſire their Company on board my " Ship, becauſe I had an Affair of great " Conſequence to communicate to them." Soon after, moſt of them were pleaſed to come; and I having acquainted them with the whole Matter, and they having alſo heard the Negroe's Confeſſion, " That he had killed the white Man;" They unanimouſly adviſed me to put him to death; arguing, " That Blood required Blood, " by all Laws both divine and human; " eſpecially as there was in this Caſe the " cleareſt Proof, namely the Murderer's " Confeſſion: Moreover this would in " all probability prevent future Miſchiefs; " for by publickly executing this Perſon " at the Ship's Fore-yard Arm, the Ne- " groes on board their Ships would ſee it; " and as they were very much diſpoſed to " mutiny, it might prevent them from

" attempting it." Theſe Reaſons, with my being in the ſame Circumſtances, made me comply.

Accordingly we acquainted the Negroe, that he was to die in an hour's time for murdering the white Man. He anſwered, " He muſt confeſs it was a raſh " Action in him to kill him; but he de- " fired me to conſider, that if I put him " to death, I ſhould loſe all the Money I " had paid for him." To this I bid the Interpreter reply, " That tho' I knew it " was cuſtomary in his Country to com- " mute for Murder by a Sum of Money, " yet it was not ſo with us; and he " ſhould find that I had no regard to my " Profit in this reſpect: For as ſoon as " an Hour-Glaſs, juſt then turned, was " run out, he ſhould be put to death;" At which I obſerved he ſhewed no Concern.

Hereupon the other Commanders went on board their reſpective Ships, in order to have all their Negroes upon Deck at the time of Execution, and to inform them of the occaſion of it. The Hour-Glaſs being

being run out, the Murderer was carried on the Ship's Forecaſtle, where he had a Rope faſtened under his Arms, in order to be hoiſted up to the Fore-yard Arm, to be ſhot to death. This ſome of his Countrymen obſerving, told him, (as the Linguiſt informed me afterwards) "That "they would not have him be frightened; "for it was plain I did not deſign to put "him to death, otherwiſe the Rope would "have been put about his neck, to hang "him." For it ſeems they had no thought of his being ſhot; judging he was only to be hoiſted up to the Yard-arm, in order to ſcare him: But they immediately ſaw the contrary; for as ſoon as he was hoiſted up, ten white Men who were placed behind the Barricado on the Quarter-deck, fired their Muſquets, and inſtantly killed him. This ſtruck a ſudden Damp upon our Negroe-Men, who thought, that, on account of my Profit, I would not have executed him.

The Body being let down upon the Deck, the Head was cut off, and thrown overboard. This laſt part was done, to

let our Negroes ſee, that all who offended thus, ſhould be ſerved in the ſame manner. For many of the Blacks believe, that if they are put to death and not diſmembred, they ſhall return again to their own Country, after they are thrown overboard. But neither the Perſon that was executed, nor his Countrymen of *Cormantee* (as I underſtood afterwards,) were ſo weak as to believe any ſuch thing; tho' many I had on board from other Countries had that Opinion.

When the Execution was over, I ordered the Linguiſt to acquaint the Men-Negroes, " That now they might judge, " no one that killed a white Man ſhould " be ſpared:" And I thought proper now to acquaint them once for all, " That if " they attempted to mutiny again, I " ſhould be obliged to puniſh the Ring-" leaders with death, in order to prevent " further Miſchief." Upon this they all promiſed to be obedient, and I aſſured them they ſhould be kindly uſed, if they kept their Promiſe: which they faithfully did. For we ſailed, two days after, from

Anamaboe

Anamaboe for *Jamaica*; and tho' they were on board near four Months, from our going off the Coaſt, till they were ſold at that Iſland, they never gave us the leaſt reaſon to be jealous of them; which doubtleſs was owing to the Execution of the white Man's Murderer.

Theſe three Mutinies, I have here related, are all that ever happened where I was preſent, tho' I have gone many Voyages to the Coaſt of *Guinea*. But I have heard of ſeveral, that have ended in a very tragical manner. However to avoid being tedious, I ſhall relate only one, which is very remarkable, and happen'd on board the *Ferrers Galley* of *London* Capt. *Meſſervy*; who by his over-care, and too great Kindneſs to the *Negroes* on board his Ship, was deſtroyed by them, and the Voyage at laſt came to nothing. I met this Gentleman at *Anamaboe* on the Coaſt of *Guinea*, in *January* 1722. At his coming on board my Ship, he informed me of his good fortune, in that he had purchaſed near 300 Negroes in a few Days, at a place called *Cetre-Crue*, on the

the windward part of the Coaſt of *Guinea*; which happened in this manner.

It ſeems the Inhabitants of this place, which lies near the Sea-ſide, had been often miſuſed by ſome inland People, who for a long time had treated them in a villainous manner, whenever they went to their Towns with Salt, or any other Commodities to ſell. For knowing the People of *Cetre-Crue*, did in a great meaſure depend on them for their Food, which is Rice, they took their Commodities, and gave them juſt what quantity of Rice they pleaſed, in exchange. The *Cetre-Crues* having long complained of this Injury, without redreſs, reſolved to bear it no longer, but to revenge themſelves by Arms. And they were crowned with Succeſs, deſtroying and taking all the Inhabitants of the principal Town where they uſed to go and buy Rice.

Captain *Meſſervy* happened to anchor near *Cetre-Crue* juſt at that time, and had the opportunity of purchaſing a great many of the Captives at an eaſy rate. For the Conquerors were glad to get ſomething for

for them at that inſtant, ſince if a Ship had not been in the Road, they would have been obliged to have killed moſt of the Men-Captives, for their own Security.

After the Captain had told me this ſtory, he deſired me to ſpare him ſome Rice, having heard, I had purchaſed a great many Tuns to the Windward; where he had bought little, not expecting to meet with ſo many Slaves. This requeſt I could not comply with, having provided no more than was neceſſary for my ſelf, and for another of my Owner's Ships, which I quickly expected. And underſtanding from him, that he had never been on the Coaſt of *Guinea* before, I took the liberty to obſerve to him, "That as he had on board ſo many Ne-"groes of one Town and Language, it "required the utmoſt Care and Ma-"nagement to keep them from mutiny-"ing; and that I was ſorry he had ſo "little Rice for them: For I had experi-"enced that the Windward Slaves are al-"ways very fond of it, it being their

" uſual Food in their own Country;
" and he might certainly expect diſſatiſ-
" factions and Uneaſineſs amongſt them
" for want of a ſufficient quantity."

This he took kindly, and having aſked my Advice about other Matters, took his leave, inviting me to come next day to ſee him. I went accordingly on board his Ship, about three a clock in the afternoon. At four a clock the Negroes went to Supper, and Captain *Meſſervy* deſired me to excuſe him for a quarter of an hour, whilſt he went forward to ſee the Men-Negroes ſerved with Victuals. I obſerved from the Quarter-Deck, that he himſelf put Pepper and Palm Oyl amongſt the Rice they were going to eat. When he came back to me, I could not forbear obſerving to him, " How imprudent it
" was in him to do ſo: For tho' it was
" proper for a Commander ſometimes
" to go forward, and obſerve how things
" were managed; yet he ought to take a
" proper time, and have a good many of
" his white People in Arms when he
" went;

" went; or elſe the having him ſo much
" in their Power, might incourage the
" Slaves to mutiny: For he might depend
" upon it, they always aim at the chief
" Perſon in the Ship, whom they ſoon
" diſtinguiſh by the reſpect ſhown him by
" the reſt of the People."

He thanked me for this Advice, but did not ſeem to reliſh it; ſaying, " He " thought the old Proverb good, that " *The Maſter's Eye makes the Horſe fat.*" We then fell into other Diſcourſe, and among other things he told me, " He " deſigned to go away in a few days:" Accordingly he ſailed three days after for *Jamaica.* Some Months after I went for that place, where at my arrival I found his Ship, and had the following melancholy account of his Death, which happened about ten days after he left the Coaſt of *Guinea* in this manner.

Being on the Forecaſtle of the Ship, amongſt the Men-Negroes, when they were eating their Victuals, they laid hold on him, and beat out his Brains with the little

little Tubs, out of which they eat their boiled Rice. This Mutiny having been plotted amongſt all the grown Negroes on board, they run to the fore-part of the Ship in a body, and endeavoured to force the Barricado on the Quarter-Deck, not regarding the Muſquets or Half Pikes, that were preſented to their Breaſts by the white Men, through the Loop-holes. So that at laſt the chief Mate was obliged to order one of the Quarter-deck Guns laden with Partridge-Shot, to be fired amongſt them; which occaſioned a terrible Deſtruction: For there were near eighty *Negroes* kill'd and drowned, many jumping overboard when the Gun was fired. This indeed put an end to the Mutiny, but moſt of the Slaves that remained alive grew ſo ſullen, that ſeveral of them were ſtarved to death, obſtinately refuſing to take any Suſtenance: And after the Ship was arrived at *Jamaica*, they attempted twice to mutiny, before the Sale of them began. This with their former Miſbehaviour coming

to

to be publickly known, none of the Planters cared to buy them, tho' offered at a low Price. So that this proved a very unſucceſsful Voyage, for the Ship was detained many Months at *Jamaica* on that account, and at laſt was loſt there in a Hurricane.

The End of BOOK II.

BOOK

BOOK III.

Containing an Account of the Author's being taken by Pirates, on the North part of the Coaſt of Guinea, *in the* Bird Galley *of* London, *belonging to the late* Humphrey Morrice *Eſq; who was ſole Owner of the ſaid Ship. Interſperſed with ſeveral Inſtances of the Author's many Deliverances, and narrow Eſcapes from Death, during the time he was detain'd Priſoner by the Pirates.*

IN the beginning of *November*, in the Year 1718, the late *Humphrey Morrice* Eſq; Merchant of *London*, appointed me Commander of the *Bird Galley*, and gave me Orders to go to *Holland*,

to take on board a Cargoe for the Coaſt of *Africa:* Having ſo done, we were unfortunately detained by contrary Winds, at *Helvoet-Sluys*, till the 10th day of *December*, when a violent Storm aroſe, and in the night following forc'd our Ship on Shore, with ſeveral others. The Ship, by the Strength of the Wind, and height of the Tide, was carried with a great force againſt the Dike, or Bank that ſecures the Land from being overflowed on ſuch high Tides, which frighten'd the Inhabitants thereabouts not a little. Moreover, the Waves made her work ſo much on the Ground where ſhe was ſtranded, that when the Tide had left her, we found ſhe ſet ſeven foot deep abaft in the Strand; but had the Satisfaction to find, on Examination, the Ship had received no damage in her bottom. Having unloaded, and hired many Boors or Peaſants, to dig a Trench of near 300 Foot in length to the low water mark, we waited ſome time for a high Tide; and then getting the Ship off, carried her into *Helvoet-Sluys* Peer.

Having

Having refitted and loaded again, we proceeded on our Voyage the latter end of *January*; but the Wind changing by the time we were off the Iſle of *Wight*, and riſing to a great Storm weſterly, we were forced into *Spithead*; where having lain ſome time, we ſailed again with a fair Wind, which carried us above 70 Leagues to the weſtward of the *Lizard*. Here a ſevere Storm of Wind coming up at Southweſt, obliged us to lye by, under a reef'd Mainſail; and it increaſed to ſuch a violent Degree, that we expected to be ſwallowed up every Minute, by the great Sea which ran Mountains high; but it pleaſed God, that after 24 Hours, it began to abate, and we received no other damage, than the loſs of the *Lyon* from the Ship's Cut-water, which was waſhed away by the Sea.

The Wind (after this Storm) remaining contrary a long time, with frequent hard Gales, obliged us at laſt to go for *Kingſale* in *Ireland:* Where having lain a few days, and repaired the Ship's Head, with other things that were out of Order,

we ſailed from that place, with a northerly Wind, the 10th day of *March* 1718-19, and had a ſhort and fine Paſſage to the River *Sieraleon*; on the North Coaſt of *Guinea*, in the Latitude of 8 Deg. 30 Min. where we arrived the firſt day of *April* 1719: We met with nothing remarkable in our Paſſage, except, that near the *Canary Iſlands*, we were chaſed by a Ship whom we judged to be a *Sallee-Rover*; but our Ship outſailing her, they ſoon gave over the Chaſe.

There were, at the time of our unfortunate Arrival in the above mentioned River, three Pirate Ships, who had then taken ten *Engliſh* Ships in that place. As it is neceſſary for illuſtrating this Story, to give an Account how theſe three Ships came to meet there, I muſt obſerve, That the firſt of them which arrived in the River, was called the *Riſing Sun*, one *Cocklyn* Commander, who had not with him above 25 Men. Theſe having been with one Captain *Moody*, a famous Pirate, ſome Months before, in a *Brigantine*, which ſailed very well, and

took the *Riſing Sun*, they were *morooned* by him, (as they call it) that is forced on board that Ship, and deprived of their ſhare of the Plunder, taken formerly by the *Brigantine*. Theſe People being obliged to go away in her, with little Proviſion and Ammunition, choſe *Cocklyn* for their Commander, and made for the River *Sierraleon*; where arriving, they ſurprized in his Sloop, one *Segnor Joſeph*, a black Gentleman, who had been formerly in *England*, and was a Perſon of good account in this Country. This Man's Ranſom procured the Pirates a ſufficient ſupply of Proviſion and Ammunition. Moreover, ſeveral *Briſtol* and other Ships arriving ſoon after, were likewiſe taken; and many of their People entring with the Pirates, they had, when I fell into their hands, near 80 Men in all.

The Crue of the *Brigantine*, who, with their Captain *Moody*, had thus forced their Companions away in the *Riſing Sun*, ſoon after repenting of that Action, it bred great Diſcontents among them; ſo that they quarrelled with their Cap-

tain and ſome others, whom they thought the chief Promoters of it; and at laſt forced him, with twelve others, into an open Boat, which they had taken a few days before, from the *Spaniards* of the *Canary Iſlands*; and as they never were heard of afterwards, doubtleſs they periſhed in the Ocean. After this, they choſe one *Le Bouſe* a *Frenchman* for their Commander, who carried them to the River *Sieraleon*, where they arrived about a Month after their parting with the *Riſing Sun*.

At the firſt Appearance, of this Brigantine, *Cocklyn* and his Crew were under a great Surprize; but when they underſtood how *Moody* and ſome others had been ſerved by them, they cheerfully joined their Brethren in Iniquity.

On the ſame day alſo arrived one Captain *Davis*, who had been pirating in a Sloop, and had taken a large Ship at the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands. He coming into *Sieraleon* with her, it put the other two Pirates into ſome fear, believing at firſt it was a Man of War: But upon diſco-

vering her black Flag at the Main-top-maſt-head, which Pirate Ships uſually hoiſt to terrify Merchant-Men; they were eaſy in their Minds, and a little time after, ſaluted one another with their Cannon.

This *Davis* was a generous Man, and kept his Crew, which conſiſted of near 150 Men, in good order; neither had he conſorted or agreed to join with the others, when I was taken by *Cocklyn*; which proved a great Misfortune to me, as will appear afterwards. For I found *Cocklyn* and his Crew, to be a ſet of the baſeſt and moſt cruel Villains that ever were. And indeed they told me, after I was taken, "That they choſe him for their Com-"mander, on account of his Brutality "and Ignorance; having reſolved never "to have again a Gentleman-like Com-"mander, as, they ſaid, *Moody* was."

Upon mentioning this, I think it neceſſary to obſerve in this place, that the Captain of a Pirate Ship, is chiefly choſen to fight the Veſſels they may meet with. Beſides him, they chuſe another principal Officer, whom they call *Quarter-maſter*,

who has the general Inſpection of all Affairs, and often controuls the Captain's Orders: This Perſon is alſo to be the firſt Man in boarding any Ship they ſhall attack; or go in the Boat on any deſperate Enterprize. Beſides the *Captain* and *Quarter-maſter*, the Pirates had all other Officers as is uſual on board Men of War.

I come now to give an account how I was taken by them. The day that I made the Land, when I was within three Leagues of the River's Mouth, it became calm in the Afternoon. Seeing a Smoke on Shore, I ſent for my firſt Mate Mr. *Simon Jones*, who had been formerly at *Sieraleon*, where I had not; "bidding "him take the Pinnace, and go where "the Smoke was, to enquire of the Na-"tives, how Affairs ſtood up the River." "But he replied, "it would be to little "purpoſe, for no People lived there: As "to the Smoke we ſaw, he believed it "might be made by ſome Travellers "who were roaſting of Oyſters on the "Shore; and would be gone before he

"could

" could get a Mile from the Ship. More-
" over, as Night drew on, it would be
" difficult for him to find the Ship again."
Thinking this anſwer reaſonable, I did not preſs him further; tho' I underſtood afterwards, there was a Town where the Smoke appeared. But I did not then in the leaſt ſuſpect Mr. *Jones* would have proved ſuch a Villain as he did afterwards.

About five a Clock in the Afternoon, a ſmall Breeze ariſing from the Sea, and the Tide of Flood ſetting ſtrong, we ſtood for the River's Mouth. At Sun-ſetting we perceived a Ship at Anchor, a great way up the River; which was the Pirate that took us ſoon after. The other two Pirate Ships, with their Prizes, were hid from our ſight by a Point of Land.

It becoming calm about ſeven a Clock, and growing dark, we anchor'd in the River's Mouth; ſoon after which I went to Supper, with the Officers that uſually eat with me. About eight a Clock the Officer of the Watch upon Deck, ſent me word, " He heard the rowing of a
" Boat."

" Boat." Whereupon we all immediately went upon Deck; and the night being very dark, I ordered Lanthorns and Candles to be got ready, ſuppoſing the Boat might come from the Shore with ſome white Gentlemen, that lived there as free Merchants; or elſe from the Ship we had ſeen up the River a little while before we came to an Anchor. I ordered alſo, by way of Precaution, the firſt Mate to go into the Steerage, to put all things in order, and to ſend me forthwith twenty Men on the *Quarter-deck* with fire Arms and Cutlaces, which I thought he went about.

As it was dark, I could not yet ſee the Boat, but heard the noiſe of the rowing very plain: Whereupon I ordered the ſecond Mate to hail the Boat, to which the People in it anſwered, " They belonged " to the *Two Friends*, Captain *Eliot* of " *Barbadoes.*" At this, one of the Officers who ſtood by me, ſaid, " He " knew the Captain very well, and that " he commanded a Veſſel of that name." I replied, " It might be ſo; but I

" would

" would not truſt any Boat in ſuch a " place;" and ordered him to haſten the firſt Mate, with the People and Arms upon Deck, as I had juſt before ordered. By this time our Lanthorns and Candles were brought up, and I ordered the Boat to be hailed again: To which the People in it anſwered, " They were from " *America:*" And at the ſame time fired a volly of ſmall Shot at the Ship, tho' they were then above Piſtol ſhot from us; which ſhowed the Boldneſs of theſe Villains: For there was in the Boat only twelve of them, as I underſtood afterwards, who knew nothing of the Strength of our Ship; which was indeed conſiderable, we having 16 Guns, and 45 Men on board. But as they told me after we were taken, " They judged we were a " ſmall Veſſel of little force. Moreover, " they depended on the ſame good for- " tune as in the other Ships they had " taken; having met with no reſiſtance: " For the People were generally glad of " an opportunity of entring with them:" Which laſt was but too true,

When

When they firſt began to fire, I called aloud to the firſt Mate, to fire at the Boat out of the Steerage Port-holes; which not being done, and the people I had ordered upon Deck with ſmall Arms not appearing, I was extremely ſurprized; and the more, when an Officer came and told me, " The People would not take " Arms." I went thereupon down into the Steerage, where I ſaw a great many of them looking at one another. Little thinking that my firſt Mate had prevented them from taking Arms, I aſked them with ſome Roughneſs, " Why they had " not obeyed my Orders?" Calling upon ſome briſk Fellows by name, that had gone a former Voyage with me, to defend the Ship; ſaying, " It would be " the greateſt Reproach in the World to " us all, if we ſhould be taken by a Boat." Some of them replied, " They would " have taken Arms, but the Cheſt they " were kept in could not be found." The reaſon of which will be related hereafter.

By

By this time the Boat was along the Ship's Side, and there being no body to oppoſe them, the Pirates immediately boarded us; and coming on the Quarter-deck, fired their Pieces ſeveral times down into the Steerage, and ſhot a Sailor in the Reins, of which Wound he died afterwards. They likewiſe threw ſeveral Granado-ſhells, which burſt amongſt us, ſo that 'tis a great wonder ſeveral of us were not killed by them, or by their Shot.

At laſt ſome of our People bethought themſelves to call out for *Quarter*; which the Pirates granting, the *Quarter-maſter* came down into the Steerage, enquiring, "Where the Captain was?" I told him, "I had been ſo till now." Upon that he aſked me, "How I durſt order my Peo-"ple to fire at their Boat out of the "Steerage? ſaying, that they had heard "me repeat it ſeveral times." I anſwered, "I thought it my Duty to defend "the Ship, if my People would have "fought." Upon that he preſented a Piſtol to my Breaſt, which I had but juſt

time

time to parry before it went off; ſo that the Bullet paſt between my Side and Arm. The Rogue finding he had not ſhot me, he turned the But-end of the Piſtol, and gave me ſuch a Blow on the Head as ſtunned me; ſo that I fell upon my Knees; but immediately recovering my ſelf, I forthwith jumped out of the Steerage upon the Quarter-deck, where the Pirate Boatſwain was.

He was a bloody Villain, having a few days before killed a poor Sailor, becauſe he did not do ſomething ſo ſoon as he had ordered him. This cruel Monſter was aſking ſome of my People, "Where their Captain was." So at my coming upon Deck, one of them, pointing to me, ſaid, "There he is." Tho' the night was very dark, yet there being four Lanthorns with Candles, he had a full ſight of me: Whereupon lifting up his broad Sword, he ſwore, "No Quarter ſhould be given "to any Captain that offered to defend "his Ship," aiming at the ſame time a full ſtroke at my Head. To avoid it I ſtooped ſo low, that the Quarter-deck Rail

Rail received the Blow; and was cut in at leaſt an inch deep: Which happily ſaved my Head from being cleft aſunder: And the Sword breaking at the ſame time, with the force of the Blow on the Rail, it prevented his cutting me to pieces.

By good Fortune his Piſtols, that hung at his Girdle, were all diſcharged; otherwiſe he would doubtleſs have ſhot me. But he took one of them, and with the But-end endeavoured to beat out my Brains, which ſome of my People that were then on the Quarter-deck obſerving, cried out aloud, "For God's ſake "don't kill our Captain, for we never "were with a better Man." This turned the Rage of him and two other Pirates on my People, and ſaved my Life: But they cruelly uſed my poor Men, cutting and beating them unmercifully. One of them had his Chin almoſt cut off; and another received ſuch a Wound on his Head, that he fell on the Deck as dead; but afterwards, by the care of our Surgeon he recovered.

All

All this happen'd in a few Minutes, and the Quarter-maſter then coming up, ordered the Pirates to tie our People's Hands, and told me, " That when they " boarded us, they let their Boat go " adrift, and that I muſt ſend an Officer, " with ſome of my People in our Boat to " look for theirs." Whereupon my firſt Mate, Mr. *Simon Jones*, who ſtood by, offered to go: And the Quarter-maſter telling him, " He muſt return quickly, " otherwiſe he ſhould judge that they " were run away with the Boat, in or- " der to go on Shore; and if they did " ſo he would cut me to pieces:" Mr. *Jones* replied, " He would not ſtay above " a quarter of an Hour, but return whe- " ther he found the Boat or not." Happily for me he ſoon found her, and returned (tho' it was very dark) in leſs time than he had promiſed.

Then the Quarter-maſter took me by the hand, and told me, " My Life was " ſafe provided none of my People com- " plained againſt me." I replied, " I was " ſure none of them could."

The

The Pirates next, loaded all their ſmall Arms, and fired ſeveral Vollies for Joy they had taken us: Which their Comrades on board their Ship hearing, it being then very near us, tho' we could not ſee it for the darkneſs of the Night, they concluded we had made Reſiſtance, and deſtroyed their People.

It will be proper to obſerve here, that ſoon after we had anchored in the Mouth of the River *Sieraleon*, it became calm; and the Tide of Ebb beginning to come down, the Pirates cut their Cable, and let their Ship drive down with the Tide towards us, from the place where we had ſeen her at anchor; having ſometime before ſent their Boat againſt the Tide of Flood, to diſcover us. The Ship being by that means come near us, and ſeeing our Lights, without aſking any Queſtions, gave us a Broad-ſide with their great Guns; verily believing we had deſtroyed their Boat and People. This put the Pirates on board us into Confuſion, which I obſerving, aſked the Quarter-maſter, "Why he did not call with the ſpeak-

" ing Trumpet, and tell their Ship they " had taken us?" Upon that he aſked me angrily, " Whether I was afraid of go- " ing to the Devil by a great Shot? For, " as to his part, he hoped he ſhould be " ſent to Hell one of theſe days by a " Cannon Ball." I anſwered, " I hoped " that would not be my Road." How- ever, he followed my Advice, and in- formed their Ship, " They had taken a " brave Prize, with all manner of good " Liquors and freſh Proviſions on board."

Juſt after this, *Cocklyn*, the Pirate Cap- tain, ordered them to dreſs a quantity of theſe Victuals; ſo they took many Geeſe, Turkeys, Fowls and Ducks, making our People cut their Heads off, and pull the great Feathers out of their Wings: But they would not ſtay till the other Fea- thers were pick'd off. All theſe they put into our great Furnace, which would boil Victuals for 500 Negroes, together with ſeveral *Weſtphalia* Hams, and a large Sow with Pig, which they only bow- elled, leaving the Hair on. This ſtrange medley filled the Furnace, and the

Cook was ordered to boil them out of Hand.

As ſoon as the Pirate-ſhip had done firing, I aſked the Quarter-maſter's leave, for our Surgeon to dreſs my poor People that had been wounded; and I likewiſe went into the Steerage, to have my Arm dreſs'd, it being very much bruiſed by the Blow given me by the Pirate-Boatſwain. Juſt after that, a perſon came to me from the Quarter-maſter, deſiring to know, "What a Clock it was by my Watch?" Which judging to be a civil way of demanding it, I ſent it him immediately: deſiring the Meſſenger to tell him, it was a very good going Gold Watch. When it was delivered to the Quarter-maſter, he held it up by the Chain, and preſently laid it down on the Deck, giving it a kick with his Foot; ſaying, "It "was a pretty Foot-ball: On which, one of the Pirates caught it up, ſaying, "He "would put it in the common Cheſt to "be ſold at the Maſt.

I would not mention ſuch trifling Circumſtances, but that I judge they ſerve to

ſhew the Humours and Temper of theſe ſort of People.

By this time I was loudly called upon to go on board the Pirate-ſhip. As ſoon as I came upon Deck, they hurried me over our Ship's ſide into the Boat; but when we arrived along the ſide of the Pirate-Veſſel, I told them, " I was " diſabled in my Arm, and ſo deſired " their help to get me into their Ship:" Which was readily done. Then I was ordered to go on the Quarter-deck to their Commander, who ſaluted me in this manner. " I am ſorry you have met " with bad uſage after Quarter given, " but 'tis the Fortune of War ſome- " times. I expect you will anſwer truly " to all ſuch Queſtions as I ſhall aſk you: " otherwiſe you ſhall be cut to pieces; " but if you tell the Truth, and your " Men make no Complaints againſt you, " you ſhall be kindly uſed; and this ſhall " be the beſt Voyage you ever made in " your Life, as you ſhall find by what " ſhall be given you." I thanked him for his good Intentions, telling him, " I

" wa

" was content to ſtand on the footing he " had propoſed to me:"

Having anſwered all his Queſtions; one of which was, " How our Ship ſailed " both large, and on a wind?" I replying, " Very well:" He then threw up his Hat, ſaying, " She would make a " fine Pirate Man of War." When I heard that, I muſt own I could not but be concern'd for having anſwered ſo truly in that particular: But then conſidering, that ſome of my People would no doubt have told them the ſame; and moreover, my Journal, when they look'd into it, would have made it plainly appear, which might have proved my Deſtruction, I ſatisfied my Mind with theſe Reflections.

As, in this whole Affair, I greatly experienced the Providence of Almighty God, in his Goodneſs delivering me from the hands of theſe Villains, and from many Dangers; ſo the ſame good Providence gave me ſuch a preſence of Mind, that when I believed I was upon the point of being killed, ſuch Terrors did not ariſe, as I had formerly experi-

enced, when in danger of Shipwrack. And tho' I fared very hard, and endured great Fatigues during the time I was there Priſoner; yet praiſed be God, I enjoyed my Health: Submitting with that Reſignation to the Will of the Almighty, as a Man ought to do in ſuch ſevere Misfortunes.

But to return to my Narrative, which the Remembrance of my paſt Dangers hath interrupted.

As ſoon as I had done anſwering the Captain's Queſtions, a tall Man, with four Piſtols in his Girdle, and a broad Sword in his Hand, came to me on the Quarter-deck, telling me, "His name "was *James Griffin*, and that we had "been School-fellows." Tho' I remembred him very well; yet having formerly heard, it had proved fatal to ſome who had been taken by Pirates, to own any Knowledge of them; I replied, "I could "not remember any ſuch Perſon by "name." Upon that he mentioned ſome boyiſh Pranks that had formerly paſs'd between us. But I ſtill denying any Know-

Knowledge of him, he told me, " He
" ſuppoſed I took him to be one of the
" Pirate's Crew, becauſe I ſaw him armed
" in that manner; but that he was a
" forc'd Man, and had been lately chief
" Mate to Captain *James Creichton* of
" *Briſtol*; who was then, with his Ship,
" in the Poſſeſſion of the Pirates in the
" River, and had not been deſtroyed by
" them, at his earneſt intreaty: That ſince
" his being forced, they had obliged him
" to act as Maſter of the Pirate-ſhip;
" and the reaſon of his being ſo armed,
" was to prevent their impoſing on him;
" for there was hardly any amongſt the
" Crew of Pirates belonging to Captain
" *Cocklyn*, but what were cruel Villains;
" miſuſing much better Men than them-
" ſelves, only for having the Misfortune
" to fall into their Hands, as I had al-
" ready experienced, and might find
" hereafter; but he would himſelf take
" care of me that night, in which would
" be my greateſt Danger; becauſe many
" of their People would ſoon get drunk
" with the good Liquors found in my
" Ship."

This generous Declaration was very acceptable to me, and I then readily owned my former acquaintance with him. Then he turned to Captain *Cocklyn*, and desired a Bowl of Punch might be made. Which being done, the Captain desired Mr. *Griffin* my Schoolfellow to shew me the way to the great Cabbin, and he followed himself.

There was not in the Cabbin either Chair, or any thing else to sit upon; for they always kept a clear Ship ready for an Engagement: So a Carpet was spread on the Deck, upon which we sat down cross-legg'd. Captain *Cocklyn* drank my Health, desiring, " I would not be cast " down at my Misfortune, for one of " the Boat's Crew who had taken us had " told him, My Ship's Company in gene- " ral spoke well of me; and they had " Goods enough left in the Ships they " had taken to make a Man of me." Then he drank several other Healths, amongst which was that of the *Pretender*, by the name of King *James the Third*, and thereby I found they were doubly

doubly on the ſide of the Gallows, both as Traitors and Pirates.

It being by this time Midnight, my Schoolfellow deſired the Captain, " To " have a Hammock hung up for me to " ſleep in;" for it ſeems every one lay rough, as they called it, that is, on the Deck; the Captain himſelf not being allowed a Bed. This being granted, and ſoon after done, I took leave of the Captain, and got into the Hammock, tho' I could not ſleep in my melancholy Circumſtances. Moreover, the execrable Oaths and Blaſphemies I heard among the Ship's Company, ſhock'd me to ſuch a degree, that in Hell it ſelf I thought there could not be worſe; for tho' many Seafaring Men are given to ſwearing and taking God's Name in vain, yet I could not have imagined, human Nature could ever ſo far degenerate, as to talk in the manner thoſe abandoned Wretches did.

After I was got into the Hammock, Mr. *Griffin*, according to his Promiſe, walked by me, with his broad Sword in his Hand, to protect me from Inſults.

Some time after, it being about two a clock in the morning, the Pirate *Boatſwain* (that attempted to kill me when taken) came on board very drunk, and being told I was in a Hammock, he came with his Cutlace near me. My generous Schoolfellow aſked him what he wanted? he anſwered, " To ſlice my Liver, for I " was a vile Dog, for ordering my Peo- " ple to fire on their Boat; neither would " I deliver my Watch when the *Quar-* " *termaſter* firſt demanded it." Upon hearing that, I told Mr. *Griffin*, " The " laſt was falſe, for I had immediately " ſent it by a Meſſenger, who only aſked, " what a clock it was? ſuppoſing the " Quarter-maſter expected it". Then *Griffin* bid the Boatſwain keep his Diſtance, or elſe he would cleave his head aſunder with his Broad Sword. Nevertheleſs, that bloody-minded Villain came on to kill me; but Mr. *Griffin* ſtruck at him with his Sword, from which he had a narrow Eſcape, and then ran away: So I lay unmoleſted till day light. By that time the Fumes of the Liquor being gone

off

off by Sleep amonſt moſt of the Pirates, Mr. *Griffin* complained to the Quarter-maſter and Company, of the cruel Intention of the Boatſwain towards me; repreſenting, " They ought to obſerve " ſtrictly that Maxim eſtabliſhed amongſt " them, not to permit any ill uſage to " their Priſoners after Quarter given." At the hearing of this, many of them voted for his being whipp'd, tho' he was a great Favourite of ſeveral others. But tho' I wiſh'd him hang'd in my Mind, yet I thought it prudent to plead for him; ſaying, " I believed it was his being in " Liquor that was the cauſe of his uſing " me in that manner." So he received a general Order, not to give me the leaſt Offence afterwards: Yet did that vile Wretch attempt once more to kill me, as ſhall be related in its due place.

I come now to relate, How Mr. *Simon Jones*, my firſt Mate, and ten of my Men entred with the Pirates. The Morning after we were taken, he came to me, and ſaid, " His Circumſtances were bad at " home: Moreover, he had a Wife whom " he

" he could not love; and for theſe Rea-
" ſons he had entred with the Pirates, and
" ſigned their Articles." I was greatly ſurprized at this Declaration, and told him, " I was very ſorry to hear it, for I be-
" liev'd he would repent when too late; and
" as he had taken this Reſolution raſhly,
" without communicating it to me, all
" I could ſay now would be to no Pur-
" poſe; neither would it be proper for
" me, for the future, to have any Diſ-
" courſe with him in private." I ſaw this poor Man afterwards deſpiſed by his Brethren in Iniquity; and have ſince been informed, he died a few Months after they left the River *Sieraleon*. However, I muſt do him the Juſtice to own, He never ſhewed any Diſreſpect to me; and the ten People he perſuaded to enter with him, remained very civil to me, and of their own accord, always manned the ſide for me, whenever I went on board the Ship they belonged to.

Several of theſe unhappy People ſoon after repented, and deſired me to intercede for them, that they might be cleared again;

again; for they durſt not themſelves mention it to the Quarter-maſter, it being death by their Articles: But it was too nice a matter for me to deal in; and therefore I refuſed them.

Some days after this, one of theſe poor Men, whoſe name was *Thomas Wilder*, diſcovered things to me, of which I only had a ſuſpicion before. After curſing Mr. *Jones* for perſuading him to enter with the Pirates, he ſaid to me, "That "ſeveral times in the Night-watch, be-"fore we came to *Sieraleon*, he had heard "him ſay, *That he hoped we ſhould meet* "*with Pirates when we came to that River*; "which he then thought to be ſpoken "only in jeſt; but now he found it too "true". As I ſeemed not to believe this, he called another of our People, who confirmed what he had told me. "Then "I aſked them the Reaſon why the "Cheſt of Arms was put out of the place "where it uſually ſtood at the Steerage; "and where it was hid in the time we "were taken?" They anſwered, "I "might remember, that the Morning

"we

" we made Land, I ordered the Steerage
" to be clean'd; to do which all the
" Cheſts there were carried between
" Decks; and after the Steerage was
" clean'd, all the Cheſts were brought
" back again in their places, except the
" Cheſt of Arms, which was left behind
" by the Mate's Order: That when I
" called to the People in the Steerage to
" fire on the Pirate-boat, ſuppoſing Mr.
" *Jones* had delivered them Arms accor-
" ding to my Order, many of the Men
" would have broken the Cheſt open, but
" he prevented them, by declaring, *This*
" *was an opportunity he had wiſhed for*;
" *and that if they fired a Muſquet, they*
" *would be all cut to pieces.* And they further aſſured me, that to induce them to enter with the Pirates, he had declared to them, *That I had promiſed him to enter my ſelf.* Putting all this together, with what ſeveral of the Pirates told me afterwards, namely, *That he had been the chief occaſion of their keeping my Ship*, it was a wonder that I eſcaped ſo well, having ſuch a baſe Wretch for my principal Officer.

But

But to reſume the thread of my Story. As ſoon as the Fumes of the Liquor were gone out of the Pirates Heads, they all went on board the Prize, as they called my Ship, about eight a clock in the morning, it being the ſecond day of *April*. Mr. *Jones*, who had been my firſt Mate, went with them; and he having confirmed them in their intention of keeping the Ship for their own uſe, all hands went to work to clear the Ship, by throwing over board Bales of Woollen Goods; Caſes of *India* Goods; with many other things of great Value: So that before night they had deſtroyed between three and four thouſand Pounds worth of the Cargoe. For they had little regard to theſe things, Money and Neceſſaries being what they chiefly wanted. The ſight of this much grieved me, but I was obliged in prudence to be ſilent. For my Schoolfellow told me, I was ſtill under the diſpleaſure of many of them, on account of my ordering my People to fire on their Boat when they took me.

There

There were then reſiding at *Sieraleon*, ſeveral *Engliſhmen* who traded on their own accounts; And among the reſt, one Captain *Henry Glynn*, who was ſince Governor for the Royal *African Company* at *Gambia*, and died there. This Gentleman was an honeſt generous Perſon, and of ſo much Integrity, that tho' he had ſuffered by the Pirates when they firſt landed, yet he would never accept of any Goods from them, which they had often preſs'd him to receive for his own uſe. This Conduct, with an engaging deportment, ſo gained him the Good-will of the Pirates, that they were ready to oblige him in whatever he requeſted. Captain *Glynn* and my ſelf having formerly been acquainted, as ſoon as he heard of my being taken, he engaged Captain *Davis* and *Le Booſe*, the Commanders of the two other Pirate Ships, who were then on Shore at his Houſe, to come on board with him to ſee me. I was very agreeably ſurprized with his coming that Afternoon, and both the Pirate Captains that came with him ſaluted me civilly.

Captain

Captain *Davis* told me, " He knew me," tho' I never could recollect where I had ſeen him; and I found, he did not care to tell, where he had ſeen me.

Soon after this, *Captain Cocklyn* with his Quarter-maſter and others, came from the Prize on board their old Ship, to compliment Captain *Davis* and the reſt that came with him. After the Compliments were over, Captain *Davis* generouſly ſaid, " He was aſhamed to hear how I had " been uſed by them. That they ſhould " remember, their Reaſons for going a pi- " rating were to revenge themſelves on " baſe Merchants, and cruel Commanders " of Ships. That as for the Owner of " the Prize, he had not his Fellow in " *London* for Generoſity and Goodneſs to " poor Sailors, as he had formerly heard " from others, and now from Captain " *Glynn:* That as for my part, no one of " my People, even thoſe that had entered " with them, gave me the leaſt ill Cha- " racter: But by their reſpect ſince ſhewn " me, it was plain they loved me. That " he indeed had heard the occaſion of

" my ill uſage, and of the ill-will ſome
" ſtill bore me, was, becauſe I had or-
" dered my People to defend the Ship:
" Which he blamed them exceedingly
' for; ſaying, If he had had the good
" fortune to have taken me, and I had
" defended my Ship againſt him, he
" ſhould have doubly valued me for it:
" That as he was not in Partnerſhip with
" them, he would ſay no more at preſent;
" but that he hoped they would now uſe
" me kindly, and give me ſome Neceſ-
" ſaries, with what remained undeſtroyed
" of my private Adventure." This was by no means reliſhed by this pack of Miſcreants; for in their Hearts they hated Captain *Davis*, becauſe he kept his Ship's Company in good order, tho' they were almoſt double their Number; and being a brave generous Man, they dreaded his Reſentment. However *Cocklyn*, and the chief of his People putting a good face on the matter, invited him and Captain *Glynn* on board the Prize; and they two deſiring I might accompany them, it was readily granted.

Soon

Soon after we were on board, we all went into the great Cabin, where we found nothing but Deſtruction. Two *Scrutores* I had there were broke to Pieces, and all the fine Goods and Neceſſaries in them were all gone. Moreover two large Cheſts that had Books in them were empty; and I was afterwards informed, they had been all thrown overboard; for one of the Pirates, upon opening them, ſwore, "There "was Jaw-work enough (as he called it) "to ſerve a Nation, and propoſed they "might be caſt into the Sea; for he "feared, there might be ſome Books "amongſt them, that might breed Miſ-"chief enough; and prevent ſome of "their Comrades from going on in their "Voyage to Hell, whither they were all "bound." Upon which the Books were all flung out of the Cabin-windows into the River.

After the Company were all ſat down in the Cabin, they were treated with all ſorts of Liquors, and other things, that had once been mine: By this means the chief Pirates being put into a good hu-

mour, my Friend captain *Glynn* took the opportunity of begging of the Quarter-maſter ſeveral Neceſſaries for me: Which being readily granted, they were tied up in Bundles, and Captain *Glynn* deſigned to take them on Shore with him to his Houſe for me. But an unlucky accident happened, which made me loſe them all again.

For ſome of Captain *Davis*'s People coming on board at that time; one of them, a pert young fellow of eighteen, broke a Cheſt open to plunder it. The Quarter-maſter hearing of it, goes out of the Cabin, and aſks the reaſon of his ſo doing; the young Man replied, "As "they were all Pirates, he thought he "did what was right." On that the Quarter maſter ſtrikes at him with his broad Sword, but the young Man running away, eſcaped the Blow, and fled for protection into the great Cabin to his Maſter Captain *Davis*. The Quarter-maſter purſues him in a great Paſſion; and there not being room amongſt ſo many of us, to make a ſtroke at him, he made a thruſt

with

with his Sword, and ſlit the Ball of one of the young Man's Thumbs, and ſlightly wounded at the ſame time Captain *Davis* on the back of one of his Hands. *Davis* upon that was all on Fire, and vowed Revenge, ſaying, " That tho' his Man had " offended, he ought to have been firſt " acquainted with it; for no other Perſon " had a right to puniſh him in his Pre- " ſence;" and immediately goes on board his own Ship. Where telling the Story to his Ship's Company, they all reſolved forthwith to revenge this great injury done to one of their Comrades, and the Indignity ſhown their Captain. Upon that they ſlip one of their Cables, and begun to heave on the other, in order to come and board *Cocklyn*'s Ship, and deſtroy ſuch a ſet of vile Fellows, as they called him and his Crew. When Captain *Davis* went from the Prize, *Cocklyn* ſoon followed, and went on board his own Ship, to get all things in a readineſs to defend himſelf. Captain *Glynn* and my ſelf only remained behind, and hoped quickly to have ſeen hot work between

them; but *Cocklyn* having conſulted his People, and judging they ſhould be no ways able to cope with Captain *Davis*, haſtily came on board the Prize again, and deſired Captain *Glynn* to go on board *Davis* with him, in order to make up matters. My Friend would have refuſed this unpleaſant Office, if he durſt; but on his not readily complying, *Cocklyn* grew enraged. I fearing the conſequences, perſuaded him to go: Which *Cocklyn* was ſo well pleaſed with, that he often ſpoke of it afterwards to my advantage.

By the time they came on board *Davis*, his Ship was juſt on *Cocklyn*'s Anchor; and tho' Captain *Glynn* was a well-ſpoken ingenious Man, he found it very difficult to compromiſe the Matter: Which at laſt was done on theſe Terms; "That "Captain *Davis* and his Ship's Com-"pany, ſhould have their ſhare of Li-"quors and Neceſſaries on board the "Prize; and, That the Quarter-maſter, "who had wounded the young Man be-"longing to *Davis*, ſhould before all "his Crew acknowledge his fault, and "aſk Pardon for the ſame." Night

Night now approaching, Captain *Glynn* was obliged to go on Shore, without calling upon me for the Things he had begged, intending to come next day for them. Being thus left on board the Prize, with only three or four of the Pirates, amongſt whom the bloody-minded Boatſwain (formerly mentioned) was one; and there being no Boat along the ſide at that time, I reſolved to ſtay where I was all night, and not hail their Pirate-Ship to ſend their Boat for me.

The Pirate-Carpenter was then lying on my Bed in the State-room; ſo I ſat ſome time by my ſelf in the Cabin, having a Candle by me on a Table. When he awoke, he civilly deſired me to go and take ſome reſt; ſaying, "He feared I "had not had any ſince I was taken." I returned him thanks, ſaying, "I would "ſit up till eight a clock:" Whereupon he came and ſat down by me on the Lockers, abaft in the Cabin.

The Boatſwain came down ſoon after this, and being a little in Liquor, began to abuſe me. On that the Carpenter told

him, "He was a baſe Villain," and turned him out of the Cabin. Soon after, a puff of Wind coming in at one of the Cabin Windows, put our Candle out; and the Carpenter and I riſing up together, to blow the Candle in again, (but not being able to do it) we accidentally ſhifted places in the dark, he ſeating himſelf juſt over againſt the Cabin Door, where I ſat before: And having no Tinder-box, we were at a great loſs how to light the Candle again.

While we were conſidering how to do it, the Boatſwain came into the Steerage, and finding the Candle out, began to ſwear and rant, ſaying, "I had put it out "purpoſely, with deſign to go into the "Powder-room undiſcovered, and blow "the Ship up." But the Carpenter called to him, and told him, "It was done by "accident, and that I ſtill ſat by him on "the Locker." So he came to the Cabin Door, and by the Star-light that came in at the Windows, perceived us ſitting; but could not diſtinguiſh our Faces. Thinking I ſat ſtill in the Place where he

he had ſeen me before, he preſented a Piſtol, and drew the Trigger, ſwearing, " At that inſtant, he would blow my " Brains out." By good fortune the Piſtol did not go off, but only flaſh'd in the Pan: By the Light of which the Carpenter obſerving that he ſhould have been ſhot inſtead of me, it ſo provoked him, that he run in the dark to the Boatſwain; and having wrenched the Piſtol out of his hand, he beat him, with that and his Fiſt, to ſuch a Degree, that he almoſt killed him.

The noiſe that was made in this Fray being heard on board the Pirate-ſhip that lay cloſe to us, a Boat was ſent from her; and they being informed of the Truth of the matter, the Officer that was in her, thought fit to carry away this wicked Villain, who had three times attempted to murder me.

After this I ſlept ſoundly, having been much fatigued; but I was awaked early in the Morning by a great number of Captain *Davis*'s Crew, who came on board to take part of the Liquors and Neceſſaries, according

cording to Agreement. It was very ſurprizing to ſee the Actions of theſe People. They and *Cocklyn*'s Crew (for *Le Booſe*'s were not yet admitted) made ſuch Waſte and Deſtruction, that I am ſure a numerous ſet of ſuch Villains would in a ſhort time, have ruined a great City. They hoiſted upon Deck a great many half Hogſheads of *Claret*, and *French Brandy*; knock'd their Heads out, and dipp'd Canns and Bowls into them to drink out of: And in their Wantonneſs threw full Buckets of each ſort upon one another. As ſoon as they had emptied what was on the Deck, they hoiſted up more: And in the evening waſhed the Decks with what remained in the Caſks. As to bottled Liquor of many ſorts, they made ſuch havock of it, that in a few days they had not one Bottle left: For they would not give themſelves the trouble of drawing the Cork out, but nick'd the Bottles, as they called it, that is, ſtruck their necks off with a Cutlace; by which means one in three was generally broke: Neither was there any Caſk-liquor left in a ſhort time, but a little *French* Brandy. As

As to Eatables, ſuch as Cheeſe, Butter, Sugar, and many other things, they were as ſoon gone. For the Pirates being all in a drunken Fit, which held as long as the Liquor laſted, no care was taken by any one to prevent this Deſtruction: Which they repented of when too late.

As for my things, which the Quartermaſter had given me at Captain *Glynn's* Requeſt, and which were accordingly bundled up; a company of drunken Pirates coming into the Cabin, and ſtumbling over ſome Goods that lay on the Floor, they took them, with three of my Bundles, and threw them overboard; ſwearing, " They had like to have broken " their Necks by thoſe things lying in " their way."

I had then but one Bundle left, in which was a black Suit of Cloaths, and other things which this Gang had ſpared. They being gone out of the Cabin, a Pirate, who was tolerably ſober, came in ſoon after, and ſeeing my Bundle, ſaid, " He would ſee what was in it;" which in prudence I did not oppoſe. He then

then took out my black Cloth Cloaths, a good Hat and Wig, and ſome other Things. Whereupon I told him, " Cap-
" tain *Cocklyn*'s Quarter-maſter had given
" them to me; and I hoped he would not
" deprive me of them; for they were of
" no ſervice to him in ſo hot a Country,
" but would be of great uſe to me, as I
" ſhould ſoon return to *England*." I had hardly done ſpeaking, when he lifted up his broad Sword, and gave me a Blow on the Shoulder with the flat ſide of it; whiſpering at the ſame time theſe Words in my Ear, " I give you this Caution,
" never to diſpute the Will of a Pirate:
" For, ſuppoſing I had cleft your Scull
" aſunder for your Impudence, what
" would you have got by it but Deſtructi-
" on? Indeed you may flatter your ſelf,
" I ſhould have been put to death for kil-
" ling a Priſoner in cold Blood; but aſſure
" your ſelf my Friends would have brought
" me off on ſuch an Occaſion." I gave him thanks for his Admonition, and ſoon after he put on the Clothes, which in leſs than half an hour after, I ſaw him take off

off and throw overboard. For ſome of the Pirates ſeeing him dreſs'd in that manner, had thrown ſeveral Buckets of Claret upon him. This Perſon's true name was *Francis Kennedy*. He was afterwards hang'd at *Execution-Dock*, but he told me at the time he put my Cloaths on, that his name was *Sun*; aſking me, " If I did not know his Father, who was " then Commander of a Ship that uſed the " *Barbadoes* Trade; and that if ever the " old Dog fell in his way, he would kill " him." To which I anſwered, " I " knew no ſuch Perſon."

When night came on, I had nothing left of what had been bundled up, but a Hat and Wig. I muſt own, that whenever they plundered me, no Affront was offered to my Perſon; but ſeveral brought me Liquor, and Slices of Ham broiled, a Biſcuit being my Plate; ſaying, " They " pitied my Condition." The Hat and Wig I had left, being hung on Pins in the Cabin, a perſon half drunk came in about eight a clock at night, and put them on; telling me, " He was a great

" Merchant

" Merchant on Shore, and that his name " was *Hogbin*:" But ſuppoſing him to be a Pirate, I ſaid little to him. By this time there was a great Quietneſs in the Ship, moſt of the Pirates being dead drunk. After a little Converſation, as Mr. *Hogbin* was going out of the Cabin with my Hat and Wig on, he met *Cocklyn*'s Quarmaſter; who knowing him not to be one of the Crew, aſked him, " How he came " by the things he had on?" To which the Fellow not returning a direct anſwer, the Quarter-maſter beat him very ſeverely, for taking things he had no Right to: Then coming to me, he aſked in a kind manner, " How I had fared in the hurly " burly of that Day?" When I told him, " I had loſt all the Neceſſaries he had " given me the Day before," he expreſs'd much concern, and ſaid, " He would " take care the next day to recover what " he could for me." But he did not prove ſo good as his word.

The next day, which was the third ſince my being taken, *Le Booſe*'s Crew were permitted to come on board the Prize: Where

Where they finiſhed what was left of Liquors and Neceſſaries; acting in the ſame deſtructive manner as their vile Brethren in Iniquity had done before.

Being quite weary of ſuch Company, and underſtanding, the three Pirate Captains were on Shore at my Friend Captain *Glynn*'s Houſe, I aſked leave of the Quarter-maſter to go to them; which he readily granted. On this I got into a Cannoe, and as we rowed towards the Shore, we had like to have been overſet, through the drunkenneſs of one of the Pirates that was with us. If Providence had not prevented this Accident, we ſhould undoubtedly have all been loſt; for the Tide ran very ſtrong, and ſeveral voracious Sharks were then near us.

When I came to Captain *Glynn*'s, he and the Pirate Captains received me in a very civil manner; and upon my telling them, " How I had loſt all my Neceſ-" ſaries that had been given me;" the Captains promiſed, That the next day they would do what they could, to recover ſome of them again for me. Then I

begged a Shirt of my Friend Captain *Glynn*; for I had been three days without ſhifting, which is very uneaſy in ſo hot a Country, where people ſweat ſo much.

Being greatly refreſh'd with that clean Shirt, and having ſtayed all night with him, where I had more reſt than I before had for a good while; next day I went on board, in company with the Pirate-Captains. Captain *Davis* defired *Cocklyn* to order all his People on the Quarter-deck, and made a Speech to them in my behalf; which they reliſhing better than that he had formerly made, It was reſolved to give me the Ship they deſigned to leave, in order to go into the Prize, with the Remains of my Cargoe that was undeſtroyed. And there being a large quantity of Goods likewiſe remaining in ſeveral Prizes, they concluded to give me them alſo: Which, with my own, were worth ſeveral thouſand Pounds. One of the leading Pirates propoſed to the reſt, " That they ſhould take me along with them down the Coaſt of *Guinea*; where " I might exchange the Goods for Gold:

" And if in order to make a quick Sale,
" I ſold them at prime coſt, I ſhould get
" Money enough by them: That, no
" doubt, as they went down the Coaſt,
" they ſhould take ſome *French* and *Por-*
" *tugueſe* Veſſels, and then they might
" give me as many of their beſt Slaves,
" as would fill the Ship: That then he
" would adviſe me to go for the Iſland of
" St. *Thomas* in the *Weſt Indies*, a Free-
" port belonging to the *Danes*, and ſell
" them there, with the Veſſel: And af-
" ter rewarding my People in a handſom
" manner, I might return with a large
" ſum of Money to *London*, and bid the
" Merchants defiance."

This propoſal was unanimouſly approved of by them: But it ſtruck me with a ſudden damp, apprehending it would be fatal to me. So I began to inſinuate, " It would not be proper for me to ac-
" cept of ſuch a quantity of other Peo-
" ples Goods, as they had ſo generouſly
" voted for me:" And going on to give my reaſons, I was immediately interrupted by ſeveral of the Pirates, who began

to be very angry, that I did not readily accept of what had been propoſed, ſo much for my advantage, as they thought; for many of them were ſo ignorant, as to think their Gift would have been legal.

On this, Captain *Davis* ſaid, "I know "this Man, and can eaſily gueſs his "thoughts concerning this matter; for "he thinks, if he ſhould act in the "manner you have propoſed, he ſhall "ever after loſe his Reputation. Now "I am for allowing every body to go to "the Devil in their own way; ſo deſire "you will give him the remains of his "own Cargoe, with what is left of his "private Adventure, and let him do with "it what he thinks fitting."

This was readily granted, and they adviſed me to take *Le Booſe*'s Brigantine, which he had then juſt quitted, (having fitted one of the Prizes for a Pirate-ſhip for him and his Crew) and carry her along the ſide of my Ship, in order to ſave the Goods then left undeſtroyed in her; allowing me ſome of my own People to do it. By this means we ſaved a conſiderable

derable part of the Cargoe, but of my private Adventure not above thirty Pounds Sterling: for that chiefly conſiſting in Neceſſaries and Liquors, with fine Goods, was ſoon deſtroyed by them: One inſtance of which out of many I ſhall give. The Pirates took ſeveral Pieces of fine *Holland*, and opening them, ſpread them on the Deck; and being almoſt drunk, lay down on them: Then others came and threw Buckets of Claret upon them, which rouſing them up, and the *Hollands* being thereby ſtained, they flung the Pieces overboard.

Captain *Davis* likewiſe further obtained for me, that I might lye on board the *Two Friends* Captain *Elliot* of *Barbadoes*; whom they had taken and forced to be their Store Ship; and that I might go on Shore when I pleaſed, to my Friend Captain *Glynn*'s houſe, on condition I ſhould return whenever they ſent for me.

And now, the Tide being turned, they were as kind to me, as they had been at firſt ſevere. So we got the Brigantine along the ſide of the Prize, and as Bale-

goods and Caſes came to hand, we got them into her; only now and then we loſt ſome, by the ill-nature of two or three leading Pirates: For if we could not receive the Goods ſo faſt as they expected, with the few People I had of my own then with me, they would let them drop overboard.

The ſame they did by a quantity of *Iriſh* Beef, the firſt day after I was taken; for they deſpiſed it, having found ſo much *Engliſh*, in the ſeveral Prizes they had met with in the River. This ſight moved me to intreat Captain *Cocklyn* to give me the *Iriſh* Beef they were going to throw overboard; for the uſe of my poor People that had not entered with them. But I being then under the high Diſpleaſure of him and his Crew, he brutiſhly replied, " There is Horſe-beans enough in " the Prize to ſerve you and your Peo- " ple ſix Months." To which I anſwered, " It was coarſe diet." But finding this put him into a paſſion, I held my Tongue, and the Beef was all caſt into the Sea.

In

In this place I think it proper to acquaint the Reader, What danger all the Priſoners were in by a falſe Report brought on board the Prize Ships that afternoon. For it was confidently averred by ſome Negroes, " That one of their Crew was " murdered, by two Captains, whoſe " names were *Bennet* and *Thompſon*, who " had been obliged to fly into the Woods " from the rage of the Pirates." And they added, " That theſe two Gentlemen " coming to the Houſe of one Mr. *Jones*, " (who lived a great way up the River) " to ſeek for Proviſions, they there met " with the perſon whom they had killed." Upon this report the Pirates reſolved to revenge themſelves on us who were their priſoners: " Which obliged me to argue " with them, and obſerve how great a " cruelty it would be, to puniſh us who " were wholly innocent, for the faults " of others." Moreover I ſaid, " The " report might be falſe, it coming from " the Shore-Negroes; and I hoped at " leaſt they would defer their reſentment " againſt us, till they had a more certain

" account of the matter." This calmed their Rage a little, when, to our great Joy, the Perſon that was reported to be killed, came on board ſoon after; and told his Comrades, that he had met with Captain *Bennet* and *Thompſon* at Mr. *Jones*'s Houſe, who threatned him; from which the report aroſe that they had killed him; but that they had not otherwiſe miſuſed him: So on this their Paſſion was entirely calmed.

As I have mentioned theſe two Captains, *Bennet* and *Thompſon*, I ſhall give an account of their Misfortunes, which I had afterwards from their own Mouths. Captain *John Bennet*, being bound from *Antegoa* to the Coaſt of *Guinea*, was taken at *Cape de Verd* Iſlands by *Davis*. Who, after plundering him, reſtored him his Ship; and he went into the River *Sieraleon*, where Captain *Thompſon* was arrived before him. Upon *Cocklyn* the Pirate's coming into the River, they carried their Ships a good way up, to a place called *Brent's-Iſland*, being the Settlement of the *Royal African Company*; where one Mr.

Plunket

Plunket was Governour. Having got their Ships very near the Shore, they made a Battery thereon, and having landed Ammunition, reſolved with their People to defend themſelves to the utmoſt: thinking at that time they would remain faithful. *Le Booſe* being arrived in his Brigantine, and hearing that ſeveral Ships were up the River, he reſolved to have one of them for his uſe; ſo he went up to attack them, and they bravely defended themſelves againſt him: But, ſoon after, *Cocklyn* coming with his Ship to the aſſiſtance of *Le Booſe*, their People begun to faulter; and theſe gallant Captains were, for ſaving their Lives, obliged, with Mr. *Plunket*, and ſeveral of their Officers, to fly into the Woods: Where, for many Weeks, they remained, having nothing to ſubſiſt on but Rice, with now and then ſome Oyſters, which they got by night from the River ſide: neither durſt they appear near the place where the Pirates were (as long as they remained there) for they had vowed to cut them to pieces, if ever they fell into their hands. Moreover, their Ships were

burnt, and *Le Booſe* took for his own uſe, one Captain *Lamb*'s Ship, which at that time lay farther up the River. I thought proper to relate this, in order to ſet the ſtory in a better light, tho' it happen'd ſome Weeks before I was taken.

But now, to return to my Subject. I was relating, how we were employed in ſaving what Goods we could. This took us up four days; and I ſlept every night on board their *Tender* commanded by Captain *Elliot*, who was very kind to me, and had a great aſcendant over the leading Pirates: ſo that he had ſeldom the Company of the common ſort, having orders to drive them away, whenever they came on board him. And I have often been amazed, to hear and ſee what he has done to ſome of them when they were impudent; beating them, and ſaying, " He was ſure " he ſhould ſee them hang'd in due time " at *Execution-dock*." However, by this means we were generally very eaſy on board him, which was no little ſatisfaction to me in my Circumſtances.

About

About this time the Quarter-maſter, who took me, fell ſick of a Fever; which increaſing, he ſent to ſpeak with me: And having deſired all preſent, except my ſelf to withdraw, he told me, " That " at the time I was taken, he deſigned to " have killed me, when he preſented the " Piſtol to my breaſt; begging I would ' forgive him for his cruel Intention:" Which I readily doing, he further ſaid, " That he had been a moſt wicked " Wretch, having been guilty of all man- " ner of abominable Crimes; and that now " believing he ſhould die, his Conſcience " ſadly tormented him, fearing he ſhould ' be puniſhed, as he deſerved, in Hell-fire, " which ſo often in their vile diſcourſe he " had made light of." Upon hearing that, " I exhorted him to ſincere Repen- " tance; telling him, the Chriſtian Reli- " gion aſſured us of God's Mercies, if we " are truly penitent; and I inſtanced the " goodneſs of God to my ſelf, in that he " was graciouſly pleaſed to preſerve me, " the night I was taken, from being mur- " dered by him and others; which great

" Mercies

" Mercies I believed were ſhown me, " becauſe I put my Hope and Truſt in " Almighty God; and exhorted him to " do the ſame." But he replied, with a ſad countenance. " O, Sir, my heart is " hardened; however, I will endeavour " to follow your good counſel". As he was going on, expreſſing his ſorrow for his former courſe of Life, ſome of the Pirates broke in upon us, to aſk him, " How he did?" So he called his Boy, and, as a mark of his Good-will towards me, ordered him to take the Key of his Cheſt, and let me take out what Neceſſaries I would. Accordingly I took that opportunity of providing my ſelf with Shirts, Stockings, and ſeveral other things. As I was taking them out, a Pirate coming from the Deck, and knowing nothing of the Quarter-maſter's order, called out aloud; " ſee how that Dog is thieving " there: He does it as cleverly as any Rogue of us all." But being told, " It " was with the Quarter-maſter's leave," he came and helped me to bundle the things up, and I ſent them on board the

Tender.

Tender. Theſe were the firſt Neceſſaries which I could call my own, ſince my Misfortune.

The Quarter-maſter that evening falling into a Delirium, died before morning in terrible Agonies; curſing his Maker in ſo ſhocking a manner, that it made a great Impreſſion on ſeveral new entered Men: and they afterwards came privately to me, begging, " that I would adviſe " them how to get off from ſo vile a " Courſe of Life, which led them into " Deſtruction both of Body and Soul. " Some of them propoſed to fly into the " Woods, and remain there till their " Ships were gone, if I would promiſe " to protect them afterwards; but this " being too nice a matter for me to " meddle with at that Juncture, I de- " clined it; Exhorting them in general, " Not to be guilty of Murder, or any " other Cruelty to thoſe they ſhould " take. For if ever they ſhould, by a " general conſent, reſolve to embrace " the King's Pardon, it would be a great " Advantage to them, to have the unfor-

" tunate

" tunate People they had taken give them " a good Character in that reſpect."

Having mentioned the King's Pardon, I ſhall here relate what I before omitted, with relation to his late Majeſty's Proclamation, for a *Pardon to Pirates, that ſhould ſurrender themſelves at any of the* Britiſh Plantations, *by the firſt of* July 1719. This Proclamation I had on board, with a Declaration of War againſt *Spain*. The Quarter-maſter finding them amongſt my Papers, and not being able to read, he brought them to me, the next day after I was taken, and " bid me read them " aloud to all then preſent;" which I did: But there being Rewards offered in the Proclamation, to thoſe that ſhould take or deſtroy Pirates; ſo much for a Captain; and in proportion for the other Officers and common Pirates; this put them into ſuch a Rage, that I began to apprehend my ſelf in ſome Danger. But Captain *Cocklyn* ordering ſilence to be made, bid me read the other Paper, which was *The Declaration of War againſt* Spain. When I had read it, ſome of them ſaid,

" They

" They wiſhed they had known it before " they left the *Weſt Indies.*" From thence I took occaſion to obſerve to them, " That if they thought fit to embrace " his Majeſty's moſt gracious Pardon, " there was not only time enough for " them to return to the *Weſt Indies*, (there " being ſtill three Months to come of the " time limited in the Proclamation) but " now that War was declared againſt " *Spain*, they would have an opportunity " of inriching themſelves in a legal way, " by going a privateering, which many " of them had privately done." This ſeemed to be reliſhed by many: but ſeveral old *Buccaneers*, who had been guilty of Murder and other barbarous Crimes, being no ways inclined to it, they uſed the King's Proclamation with great contempt, and tore it in pieces. I thought my ſelf well off, that no Reſentment or ill-uſage was ſhown me on this occaſion.

Amongſt the ſeveral Pirates, that came to conſult me, " How they ſhould get " off." There was one *Ambroſe Curtis*, who was in a bad ſtate of Health, and generally

generally walked the Deck in a Silk Night-gown. This perſon finding me ſhy in anſwering his Queſtions, he told me, " Tho' I had forgot him, yet he " had not me; for he was eleven years " ago at Sea with my Father, who had " uſed him ſeverely for being an unlucky " Boy: That I might remember, my " Father died in *Virginia*, and I com- " manded the Ship afterwards, and " brought her home to *England*; having " been very kind to him, except in one " thing, which was, That he having " confeſſed to me, he was a Servant, and " run away from his Maſter, I refuſed to " pay him his Wages, till he brought a " perſon who gave me Security that I " ſhould not pay them twice; and then " he had his Wages to a farthing: Ad- " ding, " he had told this to ſeveral lead- " ing Pirates, who had perſuaded him to " revenge himſelf on me; but as I had " been kind to him, and in his Conſcience " he believed I was in the right, to demand " Security when I paid him his Wages; " ſo he bore no ill-will to me on that

" account; and when my neceſſaries came " to be ſold at the Maſt, he would buy " ſome of them for me;" in which he proved as good as his word.

But as to his Queſtions about getting off, I replied as I had done to others; " Aſſur- " ing him, if ever it came to be in my " power to ſerve him, I would not ſpare " for Money nor Pains to do it:" But this poor fellow died, before the Pirates left *Sieraleon.*

I hope the Reader will pardon me for mentioning ſeveral things, which are not ſo coherent as I could wiſh; as alſo ſeveral little Incidents. The reaſon why I mention them is, becauſe I think they diſplay the true humours and ways of theſe Miſcreants.

Amongſt my Adventure of Goods, I had in a Box three ſecond-hand embroidered Coats. One day the three Pirate Captains, coming on board the Prize together, enquired for them, ſaying, " They under- " ſtood by my Book ſuch Clothes were in " my Ship." I told them, " They were " in a Box under the bed place in the

" State-

" State-room. So they ordered them to " be taken out, and immediately put " them on." But the longeſt Coat falling to *Cocklyn*'s ſhare, who was a very ſhort Man, it almoſt reached as low as his Ancles. This very much diſpleaſed him, and he would fain have changed with *Le Booſe*, or *Davis*: But they refuſed, telling him, " As they were going " on Shore amongſt the *Negroe-Ladies*, " who did not know the white Mens " faſhions, it was no matter. Moreover, " as his Coat was Scarlet embroidered " with Silver, they believed he would " have the preference of them, (whoſe " Coats were not ſo ſhowy) in the opini- " on of their Miſtreſſes." This making him eaſy, they all went on Shore together.

It is a Rule amongſt the Pirates, not to allow Women to be on board their Ships, when in the Harbour. And if they ſhould take a Prize at Sea, that has any Women on board, no one dares, on pain of death, to force them againſt their Inclinations. This being a good political

Rule

Rule to prevent diſturbances amongſt them, it is ſtrictly obſerved. So now being in a Harbour, they went on Shore to the Negroe-women, who were very fond of their Company, for the ſake of the great Preſents they gave them. Nay, ſome white Men that lived there, did not ſcruple to lend their black Wives to the Pirates, purely on account of the great Rewards they gave.

The Pirate Captains having taken theſe Cloaths without leave from the Quarter-maſter, it gave great Offence to all the Crew; who alledg'd, " If they ſuffered " ſuch things, the Captains would for " the future aſſume a Power, to take " whatever they liked for themſelves." So, upon their returning on board next Morning, the Coats were taken from them, and put into the common Cheſt, to be ſold at the Maſt. And it having been reported, " That I had a hand in " adviſing the Captains to put on theſe " Coats," it gained me the ill-will in particular of one *Williams*, who was Quarter-maſter of *Le Booſe*'s Ship. He

ſeeing me in the *Tender*'s Boat, going on board a *French* Ship lately taken, where he then was, he ſwore, " That if I came " there, he would cut me to pieces, for " the advice I had given the Captains." But Captain *Elliot*, who was then in the Boat, whiſpered me, ſaying, " Don't be " afraid of him, for it is his uſual way of " talking. But be ſure call him Captain, as " ſoon as you get on board." It ſeems this Villain had been Commander of a Pirate Sloop; who, with a Brigantine, two years before, took Captain *Laurence Prince* in the *Whidaw Galley* near *Jamaica*; and being now Quarter-maſter, which he did not like, he loved to have the Title of Captain given him. So when I came into the *French* Ship, I adreſſed my ſelf to him, ſaying, " Captain *Williams*, pray hear me upon the Point you " are ſo offended at." Upon that he gave me a ſlight Blow on the Shoulder, with the flat of his Cutlace, ſwearing at the ſame time, " he had not the heart to hurt me;" When I had told him how the affair had really happen'd, which he had been

been ſo angry about, he gave me a Keg of Wine, and was my Friend ever after.

The *French* Ship juſt now mentioned, fell into their hands about a fortnight after I was taken by them, in this manner. It was not bound to *Sieraleon*, but having not had an Obſervation for ſeveral days, becauſe the Sun was near their *Zenith*, they made land unexpectedly; and not knowing certainly whereabouts they were, but ſeeing ſeveral Ships in the River at an Anchor, they came boldly towards them.

I was then on board Captain *Cocklyn*'s old Ship; for they had not quite fitted mine for their uſe, not having at that time any Guns mounted; ſo I ſaw the great fear and confuſion that was amongſt them. My Mate, who had entered with them, ſaid, " He believed, by the Ship's " coming in ſo boldly, it was the *Laun-* " *ceſton* Man of War of forty Guns, " whom we had left in *Holland*. For he " had heard me ſay, ſhe was to follow " us to the Coaſt of *Guinea*."

Happy would it have been for us and many more, if it had been ſo. For had

that, or even a ſmaller Ship of twenty Guns, with the King's Commiſſion, come in at that time, or any other, whilſt I was in their hands, I am perſuaded they would have eaſily deſtroyed them. For the new-entered-men had little Courage; and the far greater part both of old and new Pirates, were ſo much in drink, that there could have been no Order or Conduct amongſt them in an Engagement. So that it would have been very eaſy to have ſubdued them, and prevented that terrible Deſtruction, which happened to above one hundred Sail of Ships, that fell afterwards into their Hands, in their going down the Coaſt of *Guinea*: Together with thoſe Damages that happened a good while after in the *Eaſt Indies*, by ſome of this Gang; and the great Ravage made by *Roberts* (who roſe out of *Davis*'s Aſhes) the ſecond time, on the Coaſt of *Guinea*, till he was happily deſtroyed by Sir *Chaloner Ogle* in the *Swallow* Man of War. But the reaſon why no timely care was taken to prevent ſo great a Deſtruction, is not proper for me to mention in this place.

As

As I had no buſineſs to be on board the Pirate Ship in time of Action, I aſked Captain *Cocklyn*'s leave to go on board their *Tender*, which he readily granted. Juſt as I was going, ſeveral of my People who had entered with him, ſaid, "They would go along with me, for "they had never ſeen a Gun fired in an-"ger." *Cocklyn* hearing that, told them, "That now they ſhould learn to ſmell "Gunpowder, and caned them hear-"tily.

So I went on board Captain *Elliot*, where I ſoon ſaw the *French* Ship taken. For coming ſo unexpectedly into the Pirates hands, they made no Reſiſtance: And becauſe the Captain did not ſtrike on their firſt firing, they put a Rope about his Neck, and hoiſted him up and down ſeveral times to the Main-yard-arm, till he was almoſt dead. Captain *Le Booſe* coming at that inſtant, luckily ſaved his Life: And highly reſenting this their cruel uſage to his Countryman, he proteſted, "he would remain no longer in "Partnerſhip with ſuch barbarous Vil-

" lains." So, to pacify him, they left the *Frenchmen* with the Ship in his care; and after the Cargoe was deſtroyed, they cut the Ship's Maſts by the board, and run her on Shore, for ſhe was very old, and not fit for their purpoſe.

After the affair of the *French* Ship was over, I was employed for ſeveral days, in landing out of the Brigantine the Goods that had been given me, out of my own Ship's Cargoe, and carrying them to my Friend Captain *Glynn*'s Houſe; in which both he and I worked very hard. For my own People that did not enter with the Pirates, were moſtly obliged to work on board the Prize, in fitting her for them; and the Natives who ſerved Captain *Glynn* at his Houſe, were grown ſo inſolent by the large quantity of Goods given them by the Pirates, that they would do nothing but what they pleaſed. However, at laſt, with much trouble we got them houſed.

By this time, which was about the 20th of *April*, the Ship they had taken from me was compleatly fitted, and the

next day was appointed to name her, to which Ceremony I was invited. When I came on board, the Pirate Captains told me, " It was not out of Diſreſpect they " had ſent for me, but to partake of the " good Cheer provided on this occaſion:" So they deſired I would be chearful, and go with them into the great Cabin. When I came there, Bumpers of Punch were put into our Hands, and on Captain *Cocklyn*'s ſaying aloud, *God bleſs the* Windham Galley, we drank our Liquor, broke the Glaſſes, and the Guns fired.

The Ship being Galley-built, with only two fluſh Decks, the Cover of the Scuttle of the Powder-room was in the great Cabin, and happened at that time to be open. One of the aftermoſt Guns blowing at the Touch-hole, ſet fire to ſome Cartouch-boxes, that had Cartridges in them for ſmall Arms, the Shot and Fire of which flew about us, and made a great ſmother. When it was over, Captain *Davis* obſerved, there had been great Danger to us from the Scuttle's being open; there being under, in a Room,

above *twenty thouſand* weight of Gunpowder. *Cocklyn* replied, " He wiſhed " it had taken fire, for it would have " been a noble blaſt, to have gone to " Hell with.

Then all going upon Deck, three Prizes that remained undeſtroyed, were ordered to be burned; upon hearing that, I privately repreſented to Captain *Davis*, " How hard it would be upon us who " were Priſoners, to remain in that Coun- " try, without Neceſſaries, and without " Food to ſubſiſt on: Beſides, there was " no manner of Proſpect of our getting " away quickly: That to the many Obli- " gations I owed him, I hoped he would " add one more, and, by his Intereſt, at " leaſt ſave one of the Veſſels, for us " to return to *England* in: That as he " had ſeveral times hinted to me, how " much he diſliked that courſe of Life, " hoping he ſhould have an opportunity " of leaving it in a ſhort time; ſo I wiſhed " he would put it in my power, to re- " port to his Advantage, the good deed " I then requeſted of him; for, in my

" Opinion, next to Murder and Cruelty,
" too often practiſed by Pirates, nothing
" could make them more odious to the
" World, than their deſtroying, out of
" mere Wantonneſs, ſo many Ships and
" Cargoes, as had been done by *Cocklyn* and
" *Le Booſe*'s Crews; in which I knew he
" had no hand: And if he would be pleaſed
" to procure my entire Liberty, at the
" ſame time that he pleaded for one of
" the Veſſels for us, it would be a double
" Obligation on me to Gratitude, in caſe
" it ever fell in my power to ſerve him."

This he readily promiſed, and by his Management the Ships were ſaved from being burned, and they made a Bonfire only of the old *Riſing Sun*, being the Ship they had quitted for mine: And now obtaining, through Captain *Davis*'s means, my intire Liberty, I went on Shore to my friend Captain *Glynn*'s Houſe again.

Two days after this Captain *Elliot* ſent his Boat for me, deſiring I would forthwith come on board his Ship, becauſe he wanted very much to ſpeak with me. I had too many obligations to this Gentleman

man to refuſe going, (tho' I had a ſort of an averſion.) Upon coming on board, he privately repreſented to me, " That I " knew he had been obliged againſt his " will by the Pirates, to receive into his " Ship a great quantity of other People's " Goods; for which he might hereafter " be called to an account; therefore he " deſired I would give him a Certificate, " teſtifying the Truth of it." Knowing this to be true, I readily complied; for he was a very honeſt Man, as appeared ſoon after. For the Pirates compelling him to go out of the River with them, as their *Tender*, he took the firſt opportunity of getting from them, which he did in a Tornado, or ſudden Guſt of Wind, that aroſe in the Night; and having the good fortune to ſucceed in his attempt, he made a good Voyage for his Owners, with Slaves to *Barbadoes*; where he fell ſick and died.

While I was in his Ship, the three Pirate Captains called along the ſide. Not expecting to ſee me there, they ſeemed very glad of it, and invited me to go and

ſup

ſup with them on board Captain *Davis*. This I declined, being deſirous of going on Shore to Captain *Glynn*'s. But Captain *Davis* inſiſting on it, I thought it prudent to comply; that I might not loſe that Gentleman's Good-will, who had been ſo kind to me.

After we had been ſome time on board his Ship, Supper was brought up about eight a clock in the Evening; and the Muſick was ordered to play, amongſt which was a Trumpeter, that had been forced to enter out of one of the Prizes. About the middle of Supper, we heard upon Deck an outcry of Fire, and inſtantly a Perſon came to us, and ſaid, "The Main-hatch-way was all in a "Flame;" ſo we all went upon Deck.

At that time, beſides the Pirates Ship's Crew, who were moſtly drunk, there was on board at leaſt fifty Priſoners; and ſeveral Boats along the ſide, into which many People jumped, and put off. I being then on the Quarter-deck, with the Captains, obſerved this to them; but they all in confuſion ſaid, "We know

"not

" not what to do in the matter:" Upon that I told them, " If the ſober People " were allowed to go away with the " Boats, no one would endeavour to ſave " the Ship; and we that were left ſhould " be loſt, (for the other Ships were above " a Mile from us, and the Tide of Flood " then run ſo ſtrong, that their Boats could " not row againſt it to ſave us:) So I propoſed to them, " to fire the Quarter-" deck Guns at the Boats that had juſt put " off, to oblige them to come on board " again;" which being inſtantly done, it ſo frightned the People in them, that they forthwith came back; and all that were able, and not drunk, lent their helping hand to put out the Fire; which by this time was come to a great head in the Ship's hold.

After this I went down into the Steerage, where I ſaw one *Goulding*, who was Gunner's Mate, and a briſk active Fellow, put his head up the After-hatchway, calling for Blankets and Water; " which if not brought immediately, (he " ſaid) the Bulk-head of the Powder-

" room

" room would be fired, and the Ship ſoon " blown up." Obſerving the Stupidity of the People about me, who ſtood looking on one another, I caught up ſeveral Blankets and Rugs which lay ſcattered about, and flung them to him, and ſo did others by my example. Then I run out of the Steerage upon Deck, where meeting with ſome People that were ſober, I got them to go over the ſide, and draw up Buckets of Water; And others handing them to *Goulding*, who had by this time placed the Blankets and Rugs againſt the Bulk-head of the Powder-Room, he flung this Water on them, and thereby prevented the Flames from catching the Powder, and conſequently from blowing up the Ship, which muſt otherwiſe have happened: For there was then on board at leaſt *thirty thouſand* pounds of Gunpowder, which had been taken out of ſeveral Prizes, it being a Commodity much in requeſt amongſt the *Negroes*.

There was ſtill great Confuſion amongſt us, occaſioned by the darkneſs of the Night,

Night, and the many drunken People, who were not ſenſible of the great Danger we were in: Moreover, the People in the Hold gave us as yet no Hopes of their getting the Maſtery of the Fire. So I went again on the Quarter-deck, and conſidered with my ſelf, if the fire could not be conquered, as I could not ſwim, I ſhould have no chance of being ſaved: and even thoſe that could, would, I knew, be expoſed to be torn to pieces by voracious Sharks, which abound in that River: So I took one of the Quarter-deck Gratings, and lowered it by a Rope over the Ship's-ſide, deſigning to get on that, if I ſhould be forced to quit the Ship. For tho' the Boats had been once obliged to come back, yet it being a dark Night, ſome People, unperceived, had ſlipped again away with them, and were quite gone away.

Whilſt I ſtood muſing with my ſelf on the Quarter-deck, I heard a loud ſhout upon the Main-deck, with a Huzza, "*For a brave blaſt to go to Hell with*," which was repeated ſeveral times. This

not

not only much ſurprized me, but alſo many of the new entered Pirates; who were ſtruck with a Pannick Fright, believing the Ship was juſt blowing up; ſo that ſeveral of them came running on the Quarter-deck, and accidentally threw me down, it being very dark. As ſoon as I got upon my Legs again, I heard theſe poor wretches ſay, in a lamentable Voice, one to another; " Oh! that we could be " ſo fooliſh as to enter into this vile courſe " of Life! The Ship will be immediately " blown up, and we ſhall ſuffer for our " Villanies in Hell Fire." So that when the old harden'd Rogues on the Main-deck, wiſh'd for a blaſt to go to Hell with, the other poor wretches were at the ſame time under the greateſt Conſternation at the thoughts of it.

The Apprehenſion of the Ship's being juſt ready to blow up, was ſo univerſal, that above fifty People got on the Bolt-ſprit, and Sprit-ſail-yard, thinking they ſhould have there a better chance for their Lives: But they much deceived themſelves, for had ſo great a quantity of

Powder

Powder as was at that time on board, been fired, it would have blown them up to Atoms.

There was one *Taylor*, Maſter of this Pirate Ship, as briſk and couragious a Man as ever I ſaw; (who afterwards commanded the *Caſſandra*, an *Engliſh Eaſt India* Ship, and carried her to *New Spain*, where he and his Crew ſeparated.) This Perſon, with fifteen more, ſpared no pains to extinguiſh the Fire in the Hold; and tho' they were ſcalded in a ſad manner by the Flames, yet they never ſhrunk till it was conquered; which was not till near ten a clock at night, when they came upon Deck, declaring the Danger was over: So the Surgeons were called to dreſs their burns. This was joyful News to us all on Deck, for we little expected to eſcape.

I ſhall now relate how this Fire happened, from which our Deliverance was almoſt miraculous. About half an hour after eight a clock in the evening, a Negroe Man went into the Hold, to pump ſome Rum out of a Caſk; and imprudently

dently holding his Candle too near the Bung-hole, a Spark fell into the Hogſhead, and ſet the Rum on fire. This immediately fired another Caſk of the ſame Liquor, whoſe Bung had been, through careleſsneſs, left open: And both the Heads of the Hogſheads immediately flying out, with a report equal to that of a ſmall Cannon, the fire run about the Hold. There were twenty Caſks of Rum, with as many Barrels of Pitch and Tar, very near the place where the Rum lay that was fired; yet it pleaſed God none of theſe took fire, otherwiſe it would have been impoſſible for us to eſcape.

After this was over, I was obliged to ſtay on board till Morning, all the Boats being run away with. In that time *Golding*, the Gunner's Mate, told the Pirate's Crew ſeveral things to my Advantage: "How I had handed the Blankets "to him, and ordered Water to be thrown "on them; which ſaved the Bulk-head, "where the Powder lay, from being fired, "and conſequently the Ship from being "blown up." So now I was more than

ever in their favour: For ſeveral of them deſired me to come on board the *Windham* Galley, the day Things were ſold there at the Maſt, and then they would be kind to me. Likewiſe Captain *Davis* preſs'd me to come, aſking me, "Whether the Gold Watch that was taken "from me was a good one?" To which "I anſwering, "It was very good, at that "time." He then ſaid, "He would buy "it for his own uſe at any rate."

While he and I were talking thus, one of the Mates came half drunk, on the Quarter-deck, ſaying to him; "I propoſe in behalf of the Ship's Company, "that this Man ſhall be obliged to go "down the Coaſt of *Guinea* with us; "for I am told we cannot have a better "Pilot." This was a great ſurprize to me; but my generous Friend *Davis* ſoon put me out of pain. For he told him, "They wanted no Pilot:" and the fellow ſtill inſiſting on my going, Captain *Davis* caned him off the Quarter-deck, and I heard no more of it: For ſoon after I went on Shore to my Friend Captain *Glynn*'s Houſe.

Two

Two days after this, a ſmall Veſſel came into the River, and was taken by them: It was called the *Diſpatch* Captain *Wilſon*, belonging to the Royal *African Company*. Mr. *Simon Jones*, formerly my firſt Mate, who had entered with the Pirates, (as I have before related) told them, on this occaſion, "That he had "once commanded a Ship, which was "hired and freighted by the *African* "Company; and that he had been very "unjuſtly uſed by them; ſo he deſired "the *Diſpatch* might be burned, that he "might be revenged of them." This being immediately conſented to, and forthwith ordered to be executed, one *John Stubbs*, a witty briſk fellow, ſtood up, and deſired to be heard firſt; ſaying, "Pray, Gentlemen, hold a little, and I "will prove to you, if this Ship is burnt, "you will thereby greatly ſerve the *Com-*"*pany*'s Intereſt." This drawing every one's attention, they bid him go on: Then he ſaid, "The Veſſel has been out "theſe two years on her Voyage, being "old and crazy, and almoſt eaten to

" pieces by the Worms; beſides, her " Stores are worth little; and as to her " Cargoe, it conſiſts only of a little Red- " wood and *Melegette-pepper*; ſo if ſhe " ſhould be burned, the Company will " loſe little; but the poor People that " now belong to her, and have been ſo " long a Voyage, will loſe all their Wa- " ges, which, I am ſure, is three times " the Value of the Veſſel, and of her " trifling Cargoe; ſo that the Company " will be highly obliged to you for de- " ſtroying her." The reſt of the Crew being convinced by theſe Reaſons, the Veſſel was ſpared, and delivered again to Captain *Wilſon* and his People, who afterwards came ſafe to *England* in it.

The 29th of *April*, ſuch of the Pirates as were my Friends, ſent me word on Shore, " That the Sale of Neceſſaries " was to begin that day in the afternoon, " in the *Windham-Galley*, Captain *Cock-* " *lyn*." So I went on board in a large *Cannoe*, belonging to two Men that lived aſhore, who went at the ſame time with me. At the Sale, ſeveral of the Pirates

bought many Neceſſaries that had been mine, and gave them to me. Likewiſe, Mr. *James Griffin*, my Schoolfellow, was ſo civil as to beg from thoſe that were not ſo kind to me, as he hoped they would have been. The two white Men that went with me in the Cannoe, minded their own buſineſs ſo well, that they got ſeveral great Bundles of Clothes and Goods, which they put into the Cannoe with mine.

By this time ſeveral Pirates being half drunk with Brandy, looked over the ſide, and ſeeing ſo many Bundles in the Cannoe, which they ſuppoſed to be all mine, they ſwore, "I was inſatiable, and that it "would be a good deed to throw them "overboard." This my kind Schoolfellow hearing, he came and told me of it; adviſing me, to go immediately on Shore; which I accordingly did; and it proved very happy for me. For ſoon after my Watch was put up to ſale, and many bidding for it, ſome of them out of Spite to Captain *Davis*, it was run up to one hundred Pounds, which he paid down. One of the Pirates being greatly

vexed at it, ſaid, " He believed the " Caſes of the Watch were not good " Gold;" and calling for a Touch-ſtone, he tried them on it. The Touch looking of a *copperiſh* Colour, (as indeed all Gold-caſes of Watches do on the touch, by reaſon of the quantity of Alloy put in to harden them) this pretence ſerved the turn of this Villain; who thereupon exclaimed againſt me, ſaying, " I was a " greater Rogue than any of them, who " openly profeſſed Piracy; ſince I was ſo " ſly, as to bring a baſe Metal Watch, and " endeavour to put it off for a gold one."

This Speech procured me the Anger of many, who knew no better; they believing every word of what he ſaid to be true. And tho' Captain *Davis* laugh'd at it, yet ſeveral ſwore, " If I had not been " gone on Shore, they would have whip-" ped me:" And as their Drunkenneſs increaſed, they talked of ſending for me to be puniſhed for ſo great a Villany, as they called it. But my Schoolfellow apprehending they would really offer me ſome Violence, was ſo kind as to ſend me word

word of what had paſs'd, by a white Man living on Shore, who was then on board; adviſing me to go into the Woods, for they ſhould ſail quickly out of the River.

The next morning early, which was the laſt day of *April*, as I was juſt going to follow his advice, I was agreeably ſurprized with the arrival of one Mr. *James Bleau*, my Surgeon, whom they deſigned to take by force with them. This honeſt Man had been very much caſt down at it, and had often deſired me to intercede for his liberty. Accordingly I had done it, repreſenting, " That he grieved himſelf " ſo much, that if he did not die quickly, " yet he would be of no uſe to them:" But this had no effect. However, at laſt, a fortunate accident cleared him, when he leaſt expected it; for that very evening, after I was come on Shore, the Surgeon of the *French* Ship entered with them; whereupon they gave Mr. *Bleau* his Liberty the next morning.

Mr. *Bleau* brought us the agreeable News, that the three Pirate Ships, with their *Tender*, were under ſail, going out

of the River. This gave us all on Shore the higheſt Satisfaction; for I had been then in their hands a Month, and many others much longer. Mr. *Bleau*, whom I have here mentioned, lives now at *Woodford-Row* on *Epping-Foreſt*, where he follows his Buſineſs.

I ſhall now inform the Reader, what became of my kind Schoolfellow *Griffin*, and my generous Friend *Davis*. The firſt took an opportunity of getting out of the hands of the Pirates, by taking away a Boat from the Stern of the Ship he was in, when off the Road of *Annamaboe*, on the Coaſt of *Guinea*. He was driven on Shore there, unperceived in the night time; and from thence went to *Cape Coaſt Caſtle*, belonging to the Royal *African Company*; from which place he went Paſſenger to *Barbadoes*, in an *Engliſh* Ship, where he was taken with a violent Fever and died.

As to *Davis*, having diſcovered, a few days after they left the River *Sierraleon*, a Conſpiracy, to deprive him of his Command, which was carried on by one *Taylor*,

lor, that was Maſter of the Ship under him, he timely prevented it: But he and ſome others left their Ship, and went on board the *Windam* Galley, Captain *Cocklyn*, by whom he found *Taylor* had been ſet on to diſplace him. This cauſing him to leave their Partnerſhip, he took a few days after one Captain *Plumb* in the *Princeſs* of *London*, whoſe ſecond Mate *Roberts*, ſo famous afterwards for his Villanies, entered with him; and *Davis*'s Crew, after plundering the Ship, reſtored her to Captain *Plumb* again. After this, Captain *Davis* went for the Iſland *Princeſs*, belonging to the *Portugueſe*, which lies in the Bay of *Guinea*. Here the Pirates gave out, "They were a King's "Ship;" but the People ſoon diſcovered what they were by their laviſhneſs, in purchaſing freſh Proviſions with Goods; but the Governour winked at it, on account of the great Gains he, and others of the chief of his People made by them. But at laſt ſome putting him in mind, "That if this Affair ſhould come to the "King of *Portugal*'s ear, it might prove

"his

" his ruin;" he plotted how to deſtroy *Davis* and his Crew, in order to colour over what he had ſo baſely permitted, in allowing them a free trade, after diſcovering they were Pirates.

Captain *Davis* being one day on Shore with the Governor, he told him, " They " deſigned to ſail from the Iſland in three " days, and that he would come, and take " his leave of him the day before." Accordingly he went on a Sunday morning, taking with him his firſt Surgeon, the Trumpeter, and ſome others, beſides the Boat's Crew. At their coming into the Governor's Houſe, they ſaw no body to receive them; ſo they went on, till they came into a long Gallery fronting the Street. Here the Governor's *Major Domo* preſently came to them, ſaying, " His " Maſter was at his Country-Houſe, but " he had ſent a Meſſenger to him, when " they ſaw Captain *Davis* coming on " Shore; and no doubt he would ſoon " be in Town." But the Surgeon obſerving, that many People had got together in the Street, with Arms in their hands,

hands, he ſaid to his Captain, " I am " ſure we ſhall ſee no Governor to day," and adviſed him immediately to go away. So *Davis* and the Surgeon went out of the Houſe; whereupon the *Major-Domo* called to the People in the Street, to fire at them. The Surgeon and two more were kill'd on the Spot, and the Trumpeter was wounded in the Arm, who ſeeing two *Capuchin* Friers (from whom I had this Account at the Iſland *Princeſs*) fled to them. One of them took him in his Arms to ſave him, but a *Portugueſe* came, and ſhot him dead without any regard to the Frier's Protection. Captain *Davis*, tho' he had four Shots in divers parts of his Body, yet continued running towards the Boat: But being cloſely purſued, a fifth Shot made him fall, and the *Portugueſe* being amazed at his great Strength and Courage, cut his Throat, that they might be ſure of him.

The Boat's Crew hearing the firing, put off in good time at ſome diſtance from the Shore; and ſeeing the *Portugueſe* advancing to fire at them, they rowed on

on board their Ship; where relating what had happened, as they ſuppoſed, to their Captain, and to the reſt left on Shore, it ſet the Pirates all in a flame; and they directly choſe *Roberts* for their Commander, vowing a ſevere revenge on the *Portugueſe*.

The Water was ſo ſhallow, that they could not get their Ship near the Town; ſo they prepared a Raft, on which they mounted ſeveral pieces of Cannon, with which they fired at the place: But the Inhabitants having quitted it, and all the Houſes being of Timber, they did little damage to the Town. Neither durſt they land to burn the Place, for fear of the great Number of People, whom they perceived in the Buſhes with ſmall Arms: So, they returned to their Ship, and the next day ſailed out of the Harbour.

Thus fell Captain *Davis*, who (allowing for the Courſe of Life he had been unhappily engaged in) was a moſt generous humane Perſon. And thus *Roberts* aroſe, who proved the reverſe of him, and did afterwards a great deal of miſchief in the *Weſt Indies*, and on the Coaſt

Coaſt of *Guinea*; till he and his Crew were happily ſuppreſs'd by Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, in the *Swallow* Man of War, and in the Engagement, *Roberts*, and ſeveral of his People were killed. But as there is *An Account of the Pirates* publiſhed, in which the principal Actions of *Roberts* are related, I ſhall ſay nothing more of him here; but go on to relate what is not mentioned in the aforeſaid Book.

As ſoon as it was commonly known, that the Pirates were ſailed from *Sierraleon*, Captain *Bennet* and *Thompſon*, with ſeveral others that had been obliged to keep in the Woods, as I have formerly related, came to Captain *Glynn*'s Houſe. There we all conſulted about preparing the *Briſtol Snow*, which the Pirates had ſpared at my Intreaty, ſo as to make it fit for us to return to *England* in. There was with us one Captain *David Creichton*, in the *Elizabeth* of *London*, laden with dying Wood; whom the Pirates had taken not long before me. Him they plundered, and would have deſtroyed, but by the Intereſt of Mr. *James Griffin*, who had been chief Mate

Mate with the Captain's Brother, the Ship was ſpared. In this Ship Captain *Creichton* took as many People as he poſſibly could, in order to ſpare our Proviſions, and ſailed a few days after the Pirates left the River *Sierraleon*, for *London*: We that were left behind, ſent notice by him to our Owners of the great Misfortunes that had befallen us.

Then applying our ſelves to fit the *Briſtol-Snow*, whom a worthy Perſon, one Captain *John Morris*, commanded, we found we ſhould be in very great want of Proviſions, conſidering how many poor People deſired to go home with us. Upon that Captain *Glynn* ſent a ſmall Sloop belonging to him, to fetch Proviſions from the River *Sherberow*, where the deſtroying Pirates had not been. From thence ſhe returned in a few days, with a good quantity; and one Captain *Nisbet* having found under his Ship's Ballaſt in the Hold, ſeveral Caſks of Beef; which had not come to the knowledge of the Pirates (otherwiſe it would no doubt have been deſtroyed, as moſt part of his Cargoe was)

he was ſo kind as to ſpare me as much of this Beef as he poſſibly could; and I drew a Bill on my Owner for the value of it.

Moreover, we found in the *French* Ship that had been taken, and afterwards run on Shore by the Pirates, a large quantity of good Biſcuit, ſo that now we were ſufficiently provided in all reſpects.

Laſtly, knowing that large quantities of Goods had been given by the Pirates, to all the white Men reſiding on Shore upon their own accounts, we all went in a Body to demand them. Meſſieurs *Mead* and *Pearce*, who were in Partnerſhip, very readily and honourably delivered up all they were poſſeſſed of: But others did not follow their Example; for they only ſhewed us what Goods they thought proper, of which I allowed them one third part for ſalvage.

So I ſhipp'd what I had recovered from them, with the other Goods the Pirates had given me formerly out of Captain *Morris*'s Veſſel; and then we embarked in her, being above ſixty Paſſengers, beſides ſix Maſters of Ships, whoſe Veſſels had been deſtroyed,

deſtroyed, or fitted for the uſe of the Pirates. We left the River *Sierraleon* the 10th day of *May*, and, after a tedious Paſſage, occaſioned by the Ship's bad ſailing, we came ſafe to *Briſtol*, the firſt of *Auguſt* 1719.

On my landing at the Key, Mr. *Caſamajor*, Merchant of that City, came to me, and delivered me a Letter from my Owner, the late *Humphrey Morrice* Eſq; who had received mine by Captain *Creichton*, with the account of my Misfortune, a few days before we arrived at *Briſtol*. Mr. *Morrice*, in his Letter, was pleaſed to comfort me under ſo ſevere a Trial, as I had undergone, aſſuring me, " He would immediately " give me the Command of another Ship; " (which accordingly he moſt generouſly " did ſoon after) and that he had ordered " Mr. *Caſamajor*, his Correſpondent, to " ſupply me with Money, to diſtribute " amongſt my poor Sailors, who had re- " turned with me to *Briſtol*; in order to " enable them to go to their ſeveral Ha- " bitations," which was in ſeveral Parts of *England*.

Laus DEO.